FEBRUARY 3, 2003

Go East, Young Man · Eliot Borenstein

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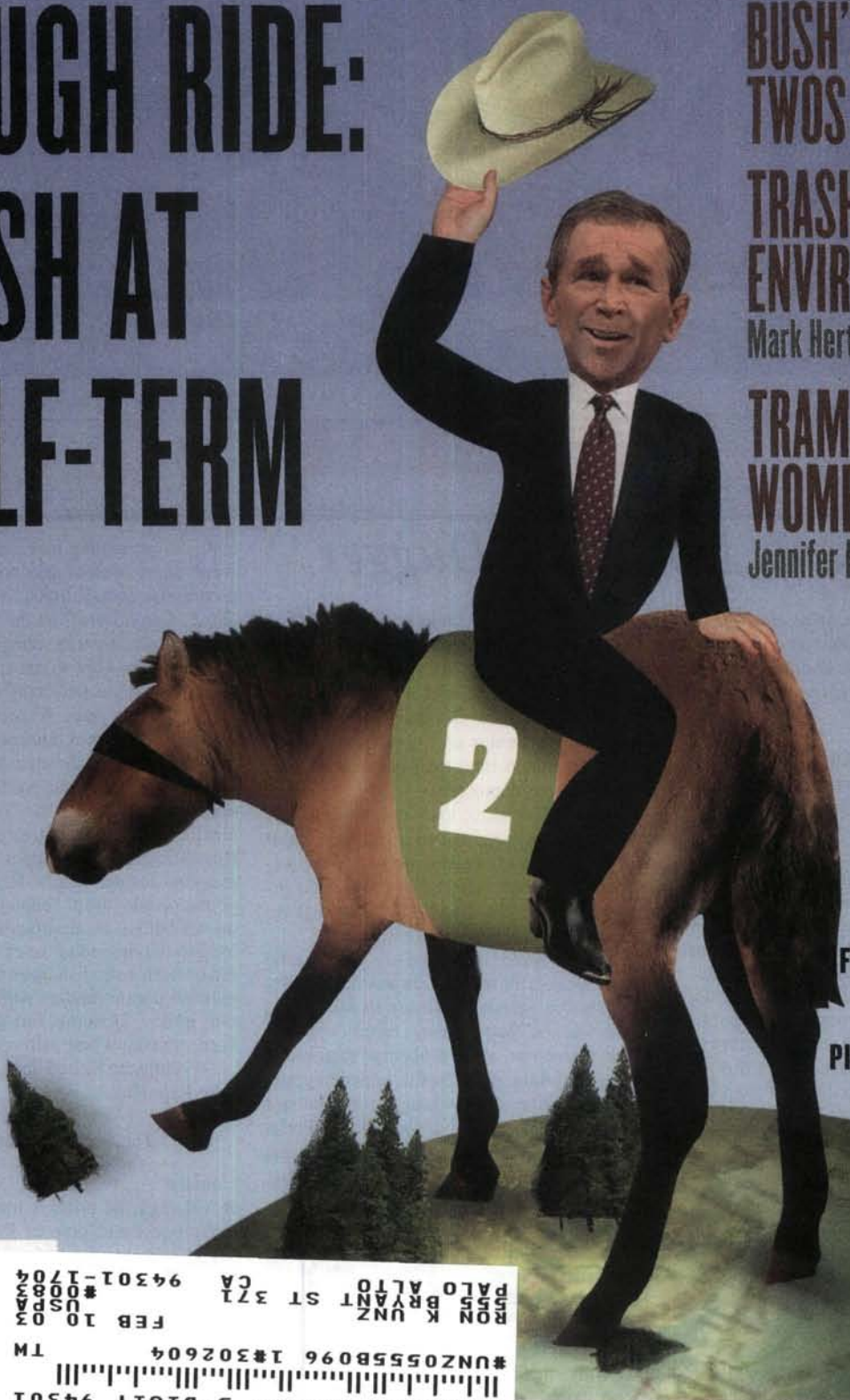
The Nation.

ROUGH RIDE: BUSH AT HALF-TERM



BUSH'S TERRIBLE TWOS
David Corn

TRASHING THE ENVIRONMENT
Mark Hertsgaard

TRAMPLING WOMEN'S RIGHTS
Jennifer Block

HIGH FCC STAKES
Michael Copps

FORTRESS AMERICA
Naomi Klein

PIGS AT THE TROUGH
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George Bush's
THEATER OF WAR
PERPETUALLY DISTRACTING!
THIS IS AWESOME!! NOW IF WE CAN JUST KEEP IT GOING TWO MORE YEARS....
M. WUERKER

EXCHANGE

Greens, Dems Don't Dig Dugger

We received a record amount of mail—from Greens, Democrats, Independents and a stray Republican—in response to Ronnie Dugger's "Ralph, Don't Run" [Dec. 2]. A sample follows.

Sonoma, Calif.

■ Oh for cryin' out loud! After the disastrous performance by the Democratic leadership y'all back to worrying about Ralph! I have no particular argument with Ronnie Dugger's points—Bush is indeed a disaster. In 2004 Greens will face the same tasteless dilemma we always face: whether to hold to our very real principles as defined by our party or to act prudently in the face of conservative fanaticism. Most will do as our Democratic friends ask and support their candidate no matter how flawed. The Democratic Party colludes with its partners the Republicans, to block Greens and others from the presidential debates. Why should Nader or any other Green pre-emptively remove himself from the national dialogue at this date? To make America safe for Gephardt? BLAIR ZARUBICK

Washington, DC

■ Imagine an election where the majority of voters actually vote, politicians are more accountable to citizens than to corporate donors and foreign policy is aimed at building peace rather than at the care and feeding of special interests. These are the goals of the Green Party of the United States.

Ronnie Dugger asks the Green Party to step down, join the Democrats and take on the "evil" Republican agenda. We understand why Dugger is so concerned, and we share his outrage. His argument, however, is hardly new. The Democrats have been asking Greens and other third-party builders to cease and desist to help defeat Reagan, Bush Senior and now Bush Junior. Asking citizens to limit their political choices is profoundly undemocratic.

Greens will continue to move politics from a right-versus-left argument to a dialogue about our key values, and an economic and social justice platform rooted in seeking nonviolent solutions to conflict. The Green Party supports reformers of all parties and independents.

The new leader of the House Democrats, Nancy Pelosi, is the most recent example of why a progressive agenda continues to fail within the Democratic Party. Pelosi is clearly opposed to unjustified war, and yet she has acquiesced and pledged support for Bush's impending war on Iraq. Looking at her voting record, this did not come from her values. To go against a President set on war is bad for mainstream politicians and bad for business—the business of obtaining corporate financing.

While the Greens continue to build a party focused on revitalizing our country's founding democratic principles, we can respond to requests for help from Democrats with a few words of advice. First, the disappointing 2002 election results are the consequence of a party that has lost its focus. Second, progressive candidates should refuse special-interest money as a way of promoting real campaign-finance reform. There is absolutely no way to maintain a progressive agenda funded by big corporate interests. Candidates from the Green Party *voluntarily* refuse corporate campaign contributions. It doesn't take a law to run an ethical campaign.

Issues such as universal healthcare, the right to earn a living wage, respect for diversity, care for the environment, instant-runoff voting, opposition to war as the main tool of foreign policy and the rest of our platform (www.gp.org) attract more voters to the Green Party in every election. We reach out to ex-Democrats, ex-Republicans, independents, nonvoters, disgruntled former voters, first-time voters and young people just old enough to register. Votes do not belong to a particular party; votes belong to the individual voter. For those citizens fed up with politicians who take dictation from their corporate funders while crafting legislative policy, at home and abroad, the Green Party welcomes you with open arms.

Wishing the United States a more representative Republic, KIRSTIN MARR
National Media Committee
The Green Party of the United States

Houston

■ Although the press is trying hard to trump our process and give us Ralph Nader as the Green Party candidate for President in 2004, it is by no means certain that he will be our nominee. The national Green presidential exploratory committee has canvassed state parties and developed a deep list of potential candidates. Nader's name appears on that list, but it is likely

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EDITORIALS

War's Collateral Damage

Among Washington insiders the odds of war with Iraq rise and fall daily—60-40, 50-50, 40-60. What seems clear, though, is that war or no war, the collateral damage to this country at home and abroad from the Administration's war policies has already been considerable. Let's put aside for the moment the Administration's exploitation of the conflict to ram through unwise domestic laws unrelated to war. Here we'll focus on injuries inflicted by alleged war-related policies:

§ *Civil liberties.* A federal court upheld the government's assertion that it could strip Yasser Esam Hamdi of his rights as a US citizen. He was allegedly taken prisoner on the battlefield while fighting with the Taliban. The conservative judges ruled that the courts have no role in reviewing the government's claim that a prisoner was fighting for the enemy; also, that the war on terrorism does not end until the President says it does and that the "battlefield" can be anywhere. Under this decision a citizen accused of being a member of Al Qaeda may be imprisoned indefinitely, without a lawyer or judicial review of the evidence against him.

§ *Condoning torture.* A December *Washington Post* report, which has provoked disturbingly little outrage, revealed that US intelligence officers have been torturing Al Qaeda and Taliban suspects. The techniques include sleep deprivation, beatings, imposing painful positions over long periods and withholding medical attention; they blatantly violate the Geneva convention. US forces have also handed over Al Qaeda suspects to foreign police, who subject them to even crueler tortures. Such a policy debases this country's ideals of justice under law.

§ *Immigrant dragnets.* The INS launched a "special registration" campaign that requires men from nineteen heavily Muslim countries and North Korea here on temporary visas to register. The program has resulted in hundreds of arrests and widespread injustices. Many of the men had paperwork violations; some had pending applications for permanent residency that had been delayed by INS inefficiency. Under this latest INS Catch-22, those who voluntarily register may be jailed and deported.

§ *Expanded secrecy.* The most secretive Administration in years is steadily closing off journalistic access to information. It is also shrinking public information on government agencies and policies, and censoring or altering websites for ideological reasons. For example, a report on condoms now attempts to discourage their use by casting doubt on their efficacy.

§ *Curtailing union rights.* In setting up the Department of Homeland Security, Congress handed to the President the power to override union bargaining and workplace rights in the interest of "national security." Contrary to pledges by Secretary-designate Tom Ridge that he would work with unions, the head of the Transportation Security Administration recently blocked an attempt to unionize 56,000 airport baggage screeners.

Add to these the foreign repercussions: The Administration's bellicose posture has strained relations with allies who oppose war on Iraq. It also provoked North Korea into its own bellicosity in the belief that even if it complies with United Nations inspections, it may be attacked by the United States—like Iraq. And according to Human Rights Watch, some countries are using US human rights abuses as an excuse for violations of their own.

None of these make us more secure from terrorism. They curtail democracy at home and make America hated abroad.

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COMMENT

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Ryan's Courage

"Our capital system is haunted by the demon of error," Illinois Governor George Ryan said on January 11, clearing his state's death row as his final act of office. Other executive orders, like Harry Truman's integration of the military, have been more sweeping, and a few, like President Ford's pre-emptive pardon of Richard Nixon, even more controversial. But never has a governor or President been so visibly moved to action by systemic failure in the criminal justice system, and never before has capital punishment been thrust so squarely into the spotlight by a single politician.

What Ryan has done, first, is to save 167 lives and probably many more. His commutation of those death sentences to a maximum of life in prison makes any future execution in Illinois—formerly site of one of the nation's largest death rows—at best a distant prospect. Ryan's successor, Democrat Rod Blagojevich, is trying to play both sides of the issue, claiming to favor keeping the moratorium on executions while reforming the state's capital justice system. But if Illinois juries start handing out new death sentences tomorrow, even a single execution is years away—the average time span from sentence to execution in Illinois has been thirteen years. By then, it's conceivable that Illinois or the nation will have abandoned capital punishment entirely.

The significance of this moment rests not just with the commutations but in Ryan's journey. This conservative Republican pharmacist-turned-pol has recounted how the exoneration of mentally retarded death-row inmate Anthony Porter—falsely accused of a double murder and saved only by the investigative efforts of college students—began the nagging doubt in his mind. Less obvious, perhaps, is the role prosecutors and pro–capital punishment legislators played in his decision. After the Porter case, Ryan named a blue-ribbon commission, which proposed reforms in Illinois capital laws, and Ryan went to his legislature three times asking for a narrowing of the death penalty. But the legislators were unwilling to modify a system under which seventeen death-row defendants were falsely convicted and more than thirty were represented by disbarred or suspended lawyers.

Just how much of this is tied up in Ryan's own legal and political troubles is a matter for conjecture. Though Ryan is surrounded by a corrupt administration and faces possible indictment himself in a license-peddling scandal, anyone who speaks with him finds little evidence that his stand on the death penalty is anything but sincere. In October, a wrenching series of individual commutation hearings brought forth the details of death-row defendants' crimes and new facts about their convictions, and Ryan—long a supporter of victims' rights—publicly wavered. It's hard to think of a more conscientious use of a governor's power to pardon and commute as a court of last resort, when the customary checks and balances have utterly failed.

The lengthy efforts of the Center on Wrongful Convictions at Northwestern University, the *Chicago Tribune* and others to examine the minute particulars of the Illinois capital system have paid off, not just in the commutation of local sentences but in national awareness that the scandal of capital justice is scarcely limit-

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ed to Illinois. In Congress, Senator Patrick Leahy's Innocence Protection Act and national moratoriums sponsored by Senator Russell Feingold and Representative Jesse Jackson Jr. languish. Ryan's action makes it easier to change that. Attention now turns to Maryland, where incoming Governor Robert Ehrlich promises to lift his predecessor's moratorium, and to new national campaigns against the execution of juveniles, led by Amnesty International and the National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty.

Ryan's action also resonates because in a personal and profound way he exemplifies the discomfort growing numbers of Americans have with capital punishment. The many Illinois prosecutors who predict a widespread backlash miss the crucial point that when it comes to the death penalty, the views of Americans are in the midst of a profound change. Judges newly challenge capital punishment's constitutionality, dozens of cities have passed moratorium resolutions and even the new pro–capital punishment governor of Virginia believes his state is disturbingly resistant to death-row-innocence cases.

No backlash will end these doubts, and that is why Ryan's commutations change death-penalty politics forever.

BRUCE SHAPIRO

Bruce Shapiro is the author, with the Rev. Jesse Jackson and Representative Jesse Jackson Jr., of Legal Lynching: The Death Penalty and America's Future, *just released in a revised paperback edition by Anchor.*

Crunch Time at the FCC

One of the most important votes of 2003 will be cast not in Congress or in voting booths across the country but at the Federal Communications Commission. At stake is how TV, radio, newspapers and the Internet will look in the next generation and beyond. At stake are core values of localism, competition, diversity and maintaining the vitality of America's marketplace of ideas. And at stake is the ability of consumers to enjoy creative, diverse and enriching entertainment.

But most people and most journalists are ignoring this momentous vote. Last year FCC chair Michael Powell announced that the commission would vote this spring on whether to scrap, modify or retain our media concentration protections. These rules currently limit a single corporation from dominating a local TV market; from merging a community's TV stations and newspapers into one voice; from merging two major TV networks; and from controlling more than 35 percent of TV households in the nation. And now we are on the verge of dramatically altering the nation's media landscape without the national debate that this issue merits.

What will happen if these rules disappear or are significantly loosened? We have some history to guide us. The FCC eliminated many of its radio consolidation rules in 1996. This action has already caused real problems, according to numerous media experts. Conglomerates now own hundreds of stations across the country. One company, Clear Channel, owns more than 1,200. Today there are 30 percent fewer radio station owners than there were before the commission abandoned its rules in 1996. Most local radio markets are oligopolies. More and more programming originates outside local stations' studios—far from listeners and their communities.

Media watchers like the Media Access Project, the Center for Digital Democracy and Consumers Union argue that this concentration has led to far less coverage of news and public interest programming and less localism. A study by the Future of Music Coalition strongly suggests that consolidation has led to the homogenization of music. Many observers say that radio now serves more to advertise the products of vertically integrated conglomerates than to inform or entertain Americans with the best and most original programming. In addition, the work of the Parents Television Council shows that offensive and indecent programming has grown more pervasive on radio. As programming decisions are wrested from our local communities and made instead in distant corporate headquarters, our children are exposed to more and more offensive material.

Despite this history, we are now about to decide whether to eliminate the rules that govern the rest of the media world. If all these rules are scrapped or if the FCC seriously weakens them, one company could dominate a region's access to information by controlling its radio stations, television stations, newspaper and cable system. And those who believe the Internet will save us from this fate should realize that the dominant Internet news sources are owned by the same media giants who control radio, TV, newspapers and cable. The fate of cable television and the emerging fate of the Internet should teach us that new technology alone, without rules that protect against its being co-opted by media giants, will not guarantee healthy, independent local media.

Yet the FCC is charging ahead without adequately studying the vast consequences of its actions. It has resisted calls to hold public hearings. Only under pressure did it agree to hold one lone official hearing in Richmond, Virginia. Most Americans don't even know that momentous decisions are about to be made. It is the FCC's responsibility to tell them and to solicit their thoughts. Failure to do so disserves the public interest and makes it appear that the commission is trying to eliminate concentration protections in the dark of night.

But it is also the media's responsibility to bring this story to the public. That hasn't happened yet. Indeed, some very important media enterprises have financial interests riding on the outcome of the ownership proceedings. The very institutions we rely on to be a forum for this debate are the institutions most affected by its outcome. The media are at pains to assure us their news-gathering operations are independent of their corporate interests. Here is an opportunity to test that claim.

Suppose for a moment that the FCC votes to remove or significantly modify the concentration protections. Suppose that turns out to be a mistake. How would we ever put the genie back in the bottle? The answer is that we could not. That's why we need a national dialogue on the issue and better data and analysis. We need this debate in Congress, at the commission, among concerned industries, in the media and all across America. The future of the media, a key part of the infrastructure of democracy, hangs in the balance.

MICHAEL COPPS

Michael Copps is an FCC commissioner.

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COMMENT

Dissident or Apologist?

The Iraqi-American writer and Brandeis professor Kanan Makiya is nowadays considered by many in the United States to be the Iraqi dissident par excellence. Known in the 1990s as the author of two books on Iraq, *Republic of Fear* and *Cruelty and Silence*, Makiya's image as the voice of Iraqis was enhanced after the Administration initiated its "regime change" discourse and started preparations for an invasion of Iraq. As the subject of numerous interviews and stories in such major media as the *Boston Globe*, the *New York Times*, PBS and NPR, Makiya is usually quoted to justify an invasion and occupation of Iraq. He has also been working with the State Department to devise plans for a post-Saddam Iraq and is advising Vice President Cheney. During the second week of January he was one of three Iraqi-Americans who met with George W. Bush in the Oval Office to discuss the future of Iraq in the post-Saddam era.

While most Iraqis in the diaspora agree with Makiya on the necessity of ending Saddam's tyranny, one need only pay a visit to the independent, encyclopedic Iraq information site nahrain.com to see that Makiya and his views are not popular. A recent article ridiculed him as "the American paper tiger."

Meanwhile, more than 500 exiled Iraqis of various ethnic and political backgrounds have signed the "No to war on Iraq...No to dictatorship" petition. While condemning Saddam's reign of terror, the petition stands against a "war that would cause more death and suffering" for "innocent Iraqis." It also calls for an "immediate lifting of the economic sanctions" and demands "the implementation of UN Resolution 688 of April 1991, which stipulates ending oppression and ensuring basic human rights in Iraq. Such measures together with free elections under UN supervision could usher a genuine democracy...including a federal status for Kurdistan and an end to political, religious, and ethnic or gender discrimination."

The list of signatories includes academics, poets, novelists, scholars and artists, led by Saadi Yousif, the greatest living Iraqi poet and a longtime dissident, who lives in London. Hundreds of Iraqi intellectuals scattered across the world in the late 1970s and early 1980s, fleeing Saddam's campaign to crush internal opposition. Most are unknown to Americans because they write for an Arabic-speaking audience or never had access to mainstream American outlets. (Makiya rarely writes for an Arab audience; when he did prepare a recent article for London-based daily *al-Hayat*, he submitted the piece in English and it was translated by the paper for its pan-Arabic readership.)

Makiya never fails to assure his US audience that Iraqis will welcome American troops and will have no qualms about their presence for years to come (see his presentation at the American Enterprise Institute this past October). However, Mohammad Baqer al-Hakim, the influential leader of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, a major Shiite opposition group, told *al-Hayat* that "any foreign occupation...would naturally face violent resistance," that "a foreign military power imposing any ruler on Iraq even if he is an Iraqi" will be rejected and that "we reject the idea of an invasion and occupation." Aziz Al-Taee, president of the Iraqi-American Council, told Fox's Greta Van Susteren on January 11 that "the Iraqi people have lost hope and confidence in both the United States...and the Iraqi government" and "they refuse to be ruled by an occupying army or any puppet government imposed by these occupying forces." Isam al-Khafaji, a veteran Iraqi dissident, scholar and professor at Amsterdam University who was one of a group of thirty-two Iraqis asked by the State Department to discuss and devise plans for a post-Saddam Iraq, says that "while Iraqi democrats were wondering why the US did not support the 1991 Iraqi uprising against Saddam's regime and stood by while thousands of Iraqis were slaughtered, Makiya shifted the attention away by calling on the US to march to Baghdad and occupy it." Al-Khafaji adds that the supposedly democratic Makiya "proposed that free elections should be postponed for several years after Saddam's fall. Why? Because Iraqis are traumatized by decades of Baathism and they cannot make a rational choice"!

Perhaps it is time to retire the "dissident" label and call things as they are. While Makiya is opposed to Saddam's regime, he has become a Bush regime intellectual of sorts—or even an empire intellectual. It will be a long time before Makiya's dissident image crumbles in the United States. But for most diaspora Iraqis who are aware of his discourse, far from representing them, Makiya is seen as an apologist for the new Rome. SINAN ANTOON

Sinan Antoon, an Iraqi writer, is a senior editor at Arab Studies Journal.

CALVIN TRILLIN

A Republican Discusses Taxes

Because they pay too much in taxes—
To feed the poor and fight the axis—
The rich are truly discommoded.
It spoils the fun of being loaded.
So we should tax the poor instead—
A tax on alms, or day-old bread.

Iraq War Blowback

A deeply disturbing development that has been buried under the debris of war talk is the fact that since 1998, in a major historical reversal, most of the deaths and injuries from terrorism have occurred in cities. Any blowback from bombing Iraq, such as an increase in terrorism, is likely to be targeted at cities rather than at military bases. When Bush seeks to persuade the American people to support the bombing of Iraq, he should acknowledge that this would raise the risk of terrorist attacks in US cities.

Cities all over the world have long been targets of such attacks.

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COMMENT

What is new is the sharp increase in the likelihood that they will be attacked. The State Department's 2001 report, *Patterns of Global Terrorism*, shows a rise in urban targets over the decade. Using the data from that report, Hank Savitch and Grigoriy Ardashev show in *Urban Studies* that from 1993 to 2000, cities accounted for 94 percent of the injuries resulting from all terrorist attacks, and for 61 percent of the deaths. Moreover, in the past decade the number of incidents doubled, rising especially sharply after 1998. By contrast, in the 1980s hijacked airplanes accounted for a larger share of terrorist deaths and destruction than they did in the 1990s.

There are several reasons that cities have become central sites for a range of terrorist activities: They are centers of power; they are a focus of media attention; they are sufficiently mixed and dense that terrorists can live and organize in them without attracting too much attention. A handful of cities have particular symbolic value because of a mix of historical, political and sometimes economic factors. New York, London and Paris—global cities strategic to the world economy that also have unique political histories—are among the target cities in the State Department data. Athens, Istanbul, Jerusalem and Rome are all key nodes in an international network of regional conflicts in which they are targets because they are highly visible sites for communicating a message to a specific audience. In New York and Washington, it was the economic and military power of the United States that was being hit; New York itself was a target because of its communicative capabilities rather than because it was seen as the enemy as such.

This information has taken on new significance because the US government's antiterrorism war has inflamed the global South and multiplied the incentives for organized and disorganized terrorist acts. The data on the vulnerability of cities tell us the price we may pay for not listening to the governments in the Arab world and indeed to our own military and intelligence officials, who say that a war on Iraq is not the way to reduce the threat of terrorism.

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In Fact . . .

NAOMI KLEIN ON BOARD

Please welcome our newest columnist, Naomi Klein. Author of *No Logo*, the bible of the global justice movement, and *Fences and Windows*, she'll be filing a monthly column, "Lookout," from her vantage point as an observer of the underside of the global economy. Klein, a Canadian currently based in Argentina, offers an arresting glimpse this week of the emerging outlines of the new "fortress continents," Europe and North America.

THIS WEEK ON THE WEB

Check out our new early-warning system, "The Daily Outrage," by Matt Bivens. This feature will keep track of the blizzard of government incursions on civil rights, the environment, workplace safety, climate, on and on. Whether they're cutting down your forests, raiding your retirement funds or reading your e-mail, the GOP assault (sometimes with bipartisan support) comes so fast even well-informed readers can't keep up. Moreover, this Administration has the sneaky habit of releasing the news on holidays or in the early morning hours. Now you can stay abreast of what's being done to you (www.thenation.com).

NATION WINS ONE

Utne magazine has honored *The Nation* for General Excellence in its fourteenth annual Independent Press Awards. The awards will be presented at the Independent Press Association's convention on January 18 in San Francisco. Winner of the General Excellence award for newsletters was *The Hightower Lowdown*, published by *Nation* contributor Jim Hightower.

BUSH'S LITTLE DIVIDEND

However you look at it—welfare for the *rentier* class, a legal mare's-nest that will enrich lawyers, a deficit deepener—Bush's tax-cut plan is a lousy idea. From the office of Senator Edward Kennedy comes still another way of viewing it that makes it look even lousier. Consider it in terms of the government programs that $364 billion—the total cost of the tax cut over ten years—could pay for. Just a few examples: With an additional $36.4 billion a year, the government could underwrite a year's worth of school lunches for 43 million children; or provide one dinner 365 days of the year for 50 million seniors; disburse enough money to keep almost every hospital emergency room in America running; pay for energy assistance for 29 million poor families annually. *Or* should the money go to the wealthiest 1 percent to buy more stuff?

TODAY'S BIBLE STUDY

The What Would Jesus Drive? anti-SUV campaign (see "Religion in the News," January 6) touched off hermeneutics on the Web: *Acts 1:14*: "These disciples all continued in one accord." (A Honda?) *Genesis*: God drove Adam and Eve out in a Fury.

NEWS OF THE WEAK IN REVIEW

The party of Abe has a long way to go to overcome its present-day racism, says Shannon Reeves, secretary of the California Republican Party. In a letter opposing a candidate for party chairman who sent out pro-Confederacy material in a newsletter, Reeves said blacks like him are "window dressing" in the GOP. He cited personal humiliations. At the 2000 convention in Philadelphia, for example, though he was wearing a delegate's badge, "no less than six times did white delegates dismissively tell me [to] fetch them a taxi or carry their luggage."

HATE THAT ANTIDRUG AD?

Lots of angry letters protest the "dime bag" ads we ran. They'll appear next week with an explanation of our advertising policy. Remember: A brain on drugs is a terrible thing to fry.

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ALEXANDER COCKBURN

The Right Not to Be in Pain

Since the bottom line here is terrible physical pain, let's start with someone who has spent most of her life in that condition. There are millions like her. Patricia C. is 47 and lives in California. At the age of 12 she developed scoliosis, and sixteen years later her doctors told her she had the neck and spine of an 80-year-old. By the time she was 30 she was on a painkiller called Darvocet, which in turn yielded to a stronger one, Tramadol. A car crash in 1998 left her with additional spinal trauma and a brain injury. Her whole life revolved around pain. She had no appetite, was sunk in depression and prayed to God to release her from her torment.

It's not as though medical marijuana shifted Patricia to a bed of roses. "A lot of the time," she said in a recent deposition, "I have to take far more medicine for my body, for the pain, the nausea and muscle spasms, than my brain can handle. I wake up every night in pain. I get up every morning in pain." But, she says, "today I am in relatively good spirits, primarily because of my daily use of medical marijuana, which I find an absolute godsend. I can use it daily. It isn't addictive and it isn't detrimental to my health."

Patricia holds card number 34 in her local cannabis buyers' club. She was one of the earliest beneficiaries of the Compassionate Use Act, passed in 1996 by the body politic of California. But on January 21 in US District Court in San Francisco, the competing desires of California and the federal government are scheduled to meet before a jury, in a clash that could plunge Patricia and millions of others in chronic pain back into the agonies they once endured. It could also send a legendary figure, Ed Rosenthal, to prison for twenty years.

Under the Compassionate Use Act, otherwise known as Proposition 215, marijuana can be used on a doctor's recommendation or prescription to help people in medical need. To implement Prop 215 the City of Oakland promptly enacted its own ordinance and resolutions. It designated the Oakland Cannabis Buyers' Cooperative as an agent of the city to carry out policy and in turn deputized Ed Rosenthal to provide medical cannabis.

Rosenthal, 58 and the author or co-author of such books as the *Marijuana Grower's Handbook*, *Marijuana: The Law and You* and the *Marijuana Medical Handbook*, is the world's foremost authority on growing marijuana. He supplies starts for people who need marijuana, since growing the plants from cuttings and sorting out the desired female starts requires aptitude, which Rosenthal, a Bronx boy, has. "We had a wonderful program at the Bronx Botanical Garden," he tells me, "and I gardened under their auspices. I never took a botany class in college, but I'm a fast learner."

A few years after passage of the California law, the Feds moved to permanently enjoin the OCBC from dispensing medical cannabis. The Justice Department launched a civil proceeding in San Francisco, where District Court Judge Charles Breyer, a Clinton appointee, duly allowed the injunction. The appeals court reversed him. Then the US Supreme Court, with Stephen Breyer recusing himself by dint of his fraternal connection, heard oral arguments. In May 2001 the Court upheld the injunction, ruling that medical necessity is not a defense under the Controlled Substances Act. Federal law vanquished state law.

Now this was a civil, not a criminal, action. Those enjoined could be held in contempt and suffer monetary sanction. The consensus around the medical marijuana community was that criminal penalties had fallen by the way.

It was scarcely a coincidence that February 12, 2002, was the day when search warrants were executed and Ed Rosenthal arrested. Asa Hutchinson was the newly sworn-in head of the Drug Enforcement Administration. "I just get the feeling," says Robert Eye, Rosenthal's lead attorney, "that Ed was supposed to be the trophy, the opening shot fired by Hutchinson to show the DEA's primacy." Hutchinson came to speak at San Francisco's Commonwealth Club, expecting that on announcing Ed's arrest, the crowd would be supportive. Instead, he got booed.

Not long afterward, Hutchinson announced that the US government would not go after individual users of medical marijuana. That was a blink, because individual possession of cannabis under federal law 21 USC § 841 is a crime. Even Hutchinson conceded that because of the unique circumstances in California and because of customs and practices there, DEA pursuit of medical cannabis is not feasible. But it does represent a slippage and more ambiguity about what Ed Rosenthal and others are supposed to do.

Meanwhile, the full weight of the Justice Department and the DEA, not to mention the far from dispassionate Judge Charles Breyer (like most of those on the federal bench, more prosecutor than judge), bears down on Rosenthal, with a jury of his peers being the arbiters of his fate.

"This is a tipping-point case," Rosenthal tells me. "If they bust me, they are going to start closing these clubs. The clubs will have no excuse. Everyone will have to plead out. It's really important that I win this case. I was not growing bud, I was growing starter plants so people could become self-sufficient. I was enabling people. I was working within the Oakland guidelines. I was only providing for the medical dispensaries, and I'm facing twenty years."

"From Reagan onward," Eye remarks, "the tilt has been to devolve power to states, and the Supreme Court has been similarly trending toward allowing states greater power. So here we've got the laboratory—that is, California—adopting a provision by its voters. But now, when it really is important to recognize the value of the state's internal right to experiment with a different social policy, the Feds decide it's not such a good time to devolve power.

"When states and Feds can't come to consensus on what a policy should be, it doesn't hurt the officials and policy-makers. It's individual citizens who pay the price. Rosenthal is charged with cultivating marijuana, maintaining a place to cultivate marijuana and conspiring with others to cultivate marijuana. He's looking at the possibility of life. It's right there in the indictment on the penalty page." Those wanting to help Rosenthal with the cost of his trial should contact www.green-aid.com. ■

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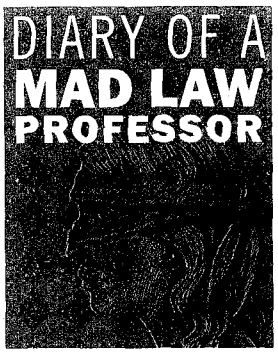
PATRICIA J. WILLIAMS

The Enemy Within



"Ask for a lawyer immediately upon your arrest," reads the little informational card the ACLU hands out to citizens. Titled "What To Do If You're Stopped By The Police," it's a list of basic constitutional rights, with advice about how to behave in a manner consistent with expectations of minimal due process. "Try to find witnesses," it continues. "Ask if you are under arrest. If you are, you have a right to know why."

That little card is sounding awfully quaint these days. After all, it refers to a standard of proof that assumes innocence until guilt is proven. It places the burden of proof on the prosecution, where it has always been. It assumes the option of a trial. But in a January 8 decision, the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit ruled that Yasser Hamdi, an American citizen captured in Afghanistan, may be held indefinitely, without charge and without access to a lawyer. Judge Harvie Wilkinson wrote that "the courts are ill-positioned to police the military's distinction between those in the arena of combat who should be detained and those who should not."

While the court's ruling explicitly applies to "enemy combatants" captured in the "theater of war," it also limits the scope of judicial inquiry as to what those terms might mean. In other words, not only can Hamdi have no lawyer, he cannot challenge his designation as enemy soldier, or even whether the war was or is still going on. Such determinations, said the court, are solely the province of the President and his military advisers.

The Fourth Circuit's decision comes on the heels of a case brought by Jose Padilla, another American citizen, captured not on the battlefield but in O'Hare airport. Padilla has been in a military brig for more than eight months without any formal charge (although the Justice Department has publicized its conviction that he was planning to detonate a so-called dirty bomb). Padilla challenged his designation as an enemy combatant, and early last December US District Judge Michael Mukasey held that "Padilla's need to consult a lawyer is obvious." That ruling, however, which was widely interpreted as one protecting a modicum of Padilla's due process, still leaves him without the right to have a lawyer present during interrogation.

Ultimately, the courts will have to chart some more consistent course among the cases now cropping up since September 11. After all, John Walker Lindh was also an American citizen captured on a battlefield in Afghanistan, but he was tried in US courts. His case was attended by a near-universal public sense that for purposes of his situation, the war ended when Hamid Karzai took power. What is at least as worrisome as the inconsistency is that the Bush Administration has repeatedly defended its power to detain enemy combatants not simply in the war against Al Qaeda or Afghanistan or Iraq or North Korea but "in this war on terrorism." As I write, prosecutors are discussing whether to charge sniper John Lee Malvo under an antiterrorism statute. Does this mean that Malvo's quite terrifying but wholly domestic crimes have the potential to turn suburban Washington into a theater of war?

The fact is the United States hasn't officially declared "war" against anyone. The Administration's commitment to end terror is a good thing, but terror is neither a three-dimensional enemy nor a clearly defined legal concept. It's more like a poison leaching from a deep well. The cleanup could take decades. Identifying its source and composition is likely to be a nightmare that may never be satisfactorily or completely resolved. "Terror" defies scientific description. Surely we ought to have some more refined legal reference point than that.

In Padilla's case, moreover, we're dealing with someone who was allegedly planning to act but who had not yet acted. Without evidence sufficient to file charges—and if there is such, no one has yet produced it—the government has moved well into the area of prior restraint. A policy of detention based on John Ashcroft's or Donald Rumsfeld's secret "convictions" about guilt rather than conviction by some accountable procedure like a trial—even if not entirely public—is a dangerous course.

As I have worried in these pages before, this strategy is the logical if monstrous offspring of suspect profiling, which, when unsustained by evidence, is nothing less than the substitution of a presumption of guilt for the presumption of innocence. Without even the legal counsel historically guaranteed in military tribunals, we as citizens are licensing a shadow intelligence force that can hold people until they literally rot in jail—or prove themselves innocent without the "coaching" of lawyers.

Maybe this sort of thing works on the battlefield. It certainly resembles the logic of guerrilla warfare: Surround the enemy and don't let even the women and children escape because you can't trust *anyone*. But it is immensely careless in its sweep, terribly overbroad in its indictments. It is premised on a cost-benefit analysis that rationalizes the sacrifice of a few to save the many. But when practiced outside situations of extreme emergency, it's also the kind of behavior that squanders the good will of whole populations. It's why African-Americans who would love good policing in their neighborhoods frequently end up as scared of the police as of the neighborhood thugs. You can't shortcut justice. I think it's why many South Koreans are suddenly saying that they are more afraid of the United States than they are of North Korea.

Indeed, a recent Human Rights Watch report says that the global campaign against terrorism is weakening because of the Bush Administration's own human rights abuses as well as its willingness to overlook the abuses of allies, including Russia, Pakistan, Israel and Malaysia. The message that "human rights are dispensable in the name of fighting terrorism" is, according to the report, actually fueling anti-American sentiment. I have said all this before, but I am prepared to use this space to say it again and again and again: This foolish path risks more than it gains; it can lead to nothing but yet more sadness, yet more paradox. ■

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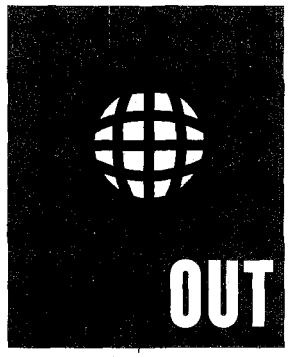
NAOMI KLEIN

The Rise of the Fortress Continent

Well, it could have been true.

That's what Senator Hillary Clinton had to say after finding out that five Pakistani men did not actually sneak into the United States through Canada so they could blow up New York on New Year's Eve. Because they were never in the United States at all, and they weren't terrorists, and the whole thing was dreamed up by a man who forges passports for a living.



At the height of the search for the professional liar's imaginary nonterrorists, Clinton blamed Canada and its "unpatrolled, unsupervised" border. But even when the hoax came to light, she didn't rescind the accusation: Because the Canadian border is so porous, she reasoned, "this hoax seemed all too believable."

It was, in other words, a useful hoax, helping US citizens to see how unsafe they really are. And that is useful, especially if you are among the growing number of free-market economists, politicians and military strategists pushing for the creation of "Fortress NAFTA," a continental security perimeter stretching from Mexico's southern border to Canada's northern one.

A fortress continent is a bloc of nations that joins forces to extract favorable trade terms from other countries—while patrolling their shared external borders to keep people from those countries out. But if a continent is serious about being a fortress, it also has to invite one or two poor countries within its walls, because somebody has to do the dirty work and heavy lifting.

It's a model being pioneered in Europe, where the European Union is currently expanding to include ten poor Eastern bloc countries at the same time that it uses increasingly aggressive security methods to deny entry to immigrants from even poorer countries, like Iraq and Nigeria.

It took the events of September 11 for North America to get serious about building a fortress continent of its own. After the attacks, it wasn't an option for the United States to simply build higher walls at the Canadian and Mexican borders—in the NAFTA era, the business community wouldn't stand for it. General Motors claims that for every minute its trucks are delayed at the US-Canadian border, it loses about $650,000.

On the other US border, dozens of industries, from agriculture to construction, are reliant on "illegal" Mexican workers—a fact not lost on George W. Bush, who knows that, after oil, immigrant labor is the fuel driving the Southwest economy. If he suddenly cut off the flow, the business sector would rebel. So what's a wildly pro-business, security-obsessed government to do?

Easy: Move the border. Turn the Mexican and Canadian borders into glorified checkpoints and seal off the entire continent, from Guatemala to the Arctic Circle. Bush officials don't talk much about the continental fortress, preferring terms like "North American area of mutual confidence." But a US-run security perimeter is precisely what is being built. In the past year, Washington has pressured Canada and Mexico to harmonize their refugee, immigration and visa laws with US policies. And in July 2001, Mexican President Vicente Fox introduced Plan Sur, a massive security operation on Mexico's southern frontier that immigration experts refer to as "the southern migration" of the US border.

Under Plan Sur, the Mexican government has deported hundreds of thousands of mainly Central Americans on their way to the United States. And the United States has been providing much of the funding. In one bizarre incident last year, Mexican guards caught a group of Indian refugees on their way to the United States, bused them to a squalid refugee detention center in Guatemala, and Washington paid the cost ($8.50 a day per detainee).

Fox had hoped to be rewarded for policing the undeclared US southern border, and he used to have reason for optimism. As recently as September 6, 2001, Bush was pledging to "normalize" the status of the roughly 4.5 million Mexicans living illegally in the United States. After September 11, however, the status of these workers became even more precarious.

This points to another truth about fortress continents: Being on the inside may be better than being locked out, but it's no guarantee of equal status. Washington is constructing a kind of three-tiered fortress in which the United States rules by decree, Canada and Mexico serve as guards and Mexican workers are banished to the continental equivalent of the servants' quarters.

Across the Atlantic, a similar three-tiered process is under way. Inside Fortress Europe, France and Germany are the nobility, and lesser powers like Spain and Portugal are the sentinels. Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary and the Czech Republic are the postmodern serfs, providing the low-wage factories where clothes, electronics and cars are produced for 20–25 percent of what it would cost to make them in Western Europe—the EU's own maquiladoras.

The huge greenhouses of southern Spain, meanwhile, have stopped hiring Moroccans to pick the strawberries. They are giving the jobs instead to white-skinned Poles and Romanians, while speedboats equipped with infrared sensors patrol the coastline, intercepting ships of North Africans. Increasingly, the EU is making "repatriation agreements" an explicit condition of new trade deals: We'll take your products, the Euros say to South America and Africa, as long as we can send your people back.

What we are seeing is the emergence of a genuinely new New World Order, one far more Darwinian than the First, Second and Third World. The new divisions are between fortress continents and locked-out continents. For locked-out continents, even their cheap labor isn't needed, and their countries are left to beg outside the gates for a half-decent price for wheat and bananas.

Inside the fortress continents, a new social hierarchy has been engineered to reconcile the seemingly contradictory political priorities of the post–September 11 era. How do you have air-tight borders and still maintain access to cheap labor? How do you expand for trade, and still pander to the anti-immigrant vote? How do you stay open to business, and stay closed to people?

Easy: First you expand the perimeter. Then you lock down. ■

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ARTICLES

BUSH'S TERRIBLE TWOS

David Corn

Who knew it would come to this? That the fellow once derided for smirkiness and boobery, who won the White House because a Democratic Party official in Palm Beach botched a ballot design, who seemed a good bet to join his poppy in the Single-Term Wing of the Hall of Presidents, who was dismissed as a foreign policy rube by leaders overseas, now stands as the most powerful—and perhaps the most unfettered—President in modern history. In the wake of September 11, George W. Bush expanded the authority of the presidency and the federal government he heads (military tribunals, secret detentions and the like). He increased official secrecy (beyond what he and Vice President Cheney had already accomplished). And he claimed the right—with Congress's assent—to declare war on Iraq on his own, while he was already prosecuting, at his discretion (and that of Donald Rumsfeld), a mostly clandestine war against terrorism, which has included the CIA covertly assassinating suspected enemies with remote-controlled drones. Richard Nixon never had it so good.

On the home front, Bush, by dauntlessly campaigning like a partisan madman for Republicans last fall, thwarted a historical trend and practically single-handedly reshaped the political realm—at least in the short run—to his advantage. So much so that he was able to ring in the new year with a most brazen opening shot. He hurled at Congress yet a new round of supersized, budget-breaking tax cuts that overwhelmingly favor the well-to-

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do, while his White House prepared to clamp down on domestic spending, which tends to benefit middle- and low-income Americans. The White House, for example, has proposed cutting $300 million for heating assistance for the poor. For comparison's sake, the country could provide health coverage to all the 9 million uninsured children and fully fund Head Start for the cost of Bush's proposed elimination of the dividend tax. It's leave-no-millionaire-behind time—even if a costly war is about to start (only your President knows for sure). The son of the man who once ridiculed Ronald Reagan's trickledown, supply-side fantasies as "voodoo economics" now champions Reaganomics with a vengeance. And with the embers still aglow from Trent Lott's verbal cross-burning, Bush returned to the Senate the judicial nomination of Charles Pickering—whom the Senate Democrats had rejected because of his questionable civil rights record—and other controversial court nominees previously spurned by the Democrats. During the presidential campaign, Bush vowed (incessantly), "I'm a uniter, not a divider." Now the motto is, "In your face." He sure has grown in office. From Boy George to King George.

Bush seems in love with his own boldness. With good reason. His first big, relieve-the-rich tax cut was pronounced a nonstarter, yet he rammed it through Congress, with the acquiescence of a dozen Senate Democrats. Last year, when Democrats urged Bush to take his get-Saddam obsession to the United Nations, he accepted their advice and then persuaded—or rolled—the Security Council. Recall the argument that the Saudis will never go for war against Iraq? The oil autocrats there recently said they would permit Bush to use bases for some war-related activity. And Germany and France, which have opposed Bush's Iraq endeavor, have signaled they may well join in, if or when D-day comes, even though they favor continuing inspections and working through the UN. The ongoing inspections process might be a bummer for the White House, but they still seem to believe they can call (and fire) the shots as they see fit. And Bush is trying not to let that inconvenient business in North Korea—it's not a crisis, it's not a crisis—interfere with the march to war. With North Korea, Bush's goal is containment: Contain any controversy, that is, and don't let reality intrude on the we're-in-control agenda crafted by Bush, Cheney & Rove, Ltd.

Certainly, in the first half of his first term, the Administration had several what-is-Rove-thinking moments: the Jeffords Jump, PR-foolish environmental-protection rollbacks (arsenic in water, anyone?), the tussle over Cheney's secret meetings with energy lobbyists and Enron. Does anyone remember Enron now? With the GOPers in charge, you can bet your diminished 401(k) there won't be any more high-profile Enron hearings in the Senate; the Democrats blew that chance. Enron feels so pre-9/11—which it wasn't. But much of Bush's less-than-glorious political history—even post-9/11 episodes unrelated to that awful day—appears to have been erased or rendered secondary by the explosions at the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. He sure knows that.

Where are the brakes? If Bush puts the pedal to the metal, who or what can slow down this *force de président*? His tax-cut plan met with widespread criticism—and not merely from Democrats. The *Washington Post* editorialists uncharacteristically mocked Bush: "But if $700 billion [in tax cuts] is bolder than $300 billion, why stop there? Why not cut $1.7 trillion, or $2.7 trillion?... Why not abolish [the income tax]? Wouldn't that be bold? Wouldn't it be the conservative and—speaking now as beleaguered taxpayers—the compassionate thing to do?" Yet the Bushies did not seem bothered by the extensive skepticism. Nor have they displayed concern that GOP Senators John McCain, Lincoln Chafee, George Voinovich, Susan Collins and Charles Grassley all have expressed varying degrees of unease with parts of the package. With almost all Senate Democrats firmly against these cuts at the moment—Zell Miller, once again, stands out—it might take only one or two Republican skunks to ruin Bush's party. (Team Bush apparently hopes to run the tax cuts through the Senate in what's known as a reconciliation measure—which would not be vulnerable to a filibuster.) In the face of this, the Bush bravado is unnerving. Is he playacting—unveiling an over-the-top plan to wow the base, realizing it will eventually be sliced and diced? Or does he know something we don't? Perhaps he's ready to stare down the few remaining Republican fuddy-duddies who fret over deficits. After all, Senate Republicans ought to be grateful to Bush. He won them back their chairmanships, and he nimbly guided them through the ugly Lott imbroglio. Bill Frist starts his tenure as Senate majority leader as a partly owned subsidiary of the White House. Grassley told *The Hill*, "The president should not take the attitude that he has a free hand with Congress, even though that may be accurate." The White House has to love warnings like that.

As for the Democrats, is there muscle behind their huffing? Will they, as some now are vowing, use extreme but legitimate means—filibusters and holds—to defeat Pickering and other nominees they consider unacceptable? Can they hang together in opposing the Bush tax plan, or will the White House be able to peel off a small number of Democrats with targeted compromises? (Most of the real action will occur in the Senate; the minority caucus there has a greater ability to obstruct than its counterpart in the House.) The political unit of ABC News recently offered a wise observation: "The President's macro message (and that of his party) is 'we want lots of tax cuts,' while the Democrats are left trying to talk tax cuts, but also, inevitably, saying things that make them at least *seem* opposed to tax cuts generally, and that is a matchup that George 'Dubya' Bush is 2 for 2 in national elections." Bush actually wants another fight on class warfare. The Democrats, PO'ed by Bush's charge that *they* are the ones playing class warfare, will need to match his determination—use that anger!—just as the party's 2004 contenders ought to be pondering how to counter Bush's brass with daring of their own.

The hubris runneth over indeed at 1600 Pennsylvania, but Bush and Rove are not kamikazes. (Cheney? Well, he may not be worrying about running for re-election.) Bush and his crew seem to realize there may be such a thing as going too far, though they define that quite liberally. Bush softened the tough-sheriff talk on North Korea. He made Lott walk the plank. And conservative advocates—psyched for war in Iraq and for brash tax cuts—have been concerned that Bush might nominate White House counsel Alberto Gonzalez (whom many right-wing partisans do not deem sufficiently conservative) for the next Supreme Court opening, sacrificing ideology for politically useful diversity. Bush may be held in check only by what he (or Rove) judges excessive—mean-

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The Birth of the Modern Mind

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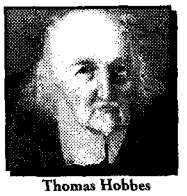
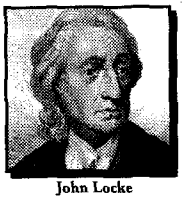
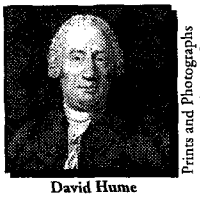

Thomas Hobbes


John Locke


David Hume

Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Many of the basic concepts shaping our world are "young" ideas, no more than a few centuries old. Modern science, technology, democratic government, natural rights, and even a general tendency to be open to innovation are a few examples. We take them as givens, even while we continue to debate their meaning and implications.

Where did these ideas come from? How are they related to one another, to ideas that came before, and to our problems and dilemmas today? How did they become so prominent so swiftly?

Professor Alan Charles Kors makes clear that any search for answers to these questions must reckon with the revolution of the intellect that swept Europe between 1600 and 1800—a revolution whose lights and shadows are all around us still. Changing accustomed ways of thought like few things before or since, it sparked what he calls "perhaps the most profound transformation [ever] of European, if not human, life."

A World-Class Scholar

Professor Kors has lectured on these topics for nearly a third of a century at the University of Pennsylvania, where he has won awards for distinguished teaching. He is currently the editor-in-chief of the multi-volume Oxford University Press *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment.* With his erudition and lecturing skills, he brings history to life in a way you'll find thoroughly enjoyable.

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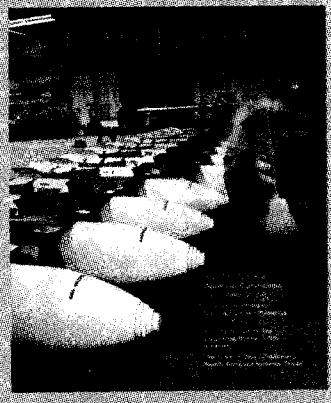

In the January/February issue of *Orion*:

When Compassion Becomes Dissent
David James Duncan on Iraq and the effects of war rhetoric on our language—and on our people.

An American Obsession
Keeping Score in a Hybrid Car with Bill McKibben

The New Eden
Hope or prophecy? The disquieting paintings of Odd Nerdrum

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ing what they assume will turn off soccer moms, suburban independents or whatever swing group they determine to be crucial to re-election. This White House wants to keep on claiming, as the campaign did, that Bush is a "different kind of Republican," not a meanie or a Lott-like GOP-er. While sticking with the "Southern strategy"—see Pickering—Bush recently chose to hold his 2004 GOP coronation in New York City. Obviously, he will be able to bask in the glow of the heroes of 9/11. Firefighters, emergency workers, police officers and rescue dogs will no doubt be featured at the convention, which will be a weeklong reminder that since that day Bush has been busy protecting you. But it will also showcase the non-Trent, different-kind-of-Republican wing of the party: Mayor Michael Bloomberg, Governor George Pataki and, most of all, former Mayor Rudy Giuliani.

War may determine all for Bush. September 11 defined Bush's presidency, but then he decided to further (and fundamentally) define the Bush II years by promising a showdown with Saddam Hussein. There was no public clamor for moving from Afghanistan to Iraq (unless you count neocon commentators like Bill Kristol and Charles Krauthammer). Bush elected to place the Iraq problem at the top of his to-do (before 2004) list. He can expect to be judged by voters on how he deals with this challenge. And his performance there may determine how much latitude he has in pushing the rest of his wish list. For now, he has a free hand to handle Iraq. Congress has stepped out of his way. Many in the international community have accepted that Bush will do what he wants and have opted to accommodate him (and cut the best deal they can with Washington). Iraq is truly Bush's signature project (with Tom Daschle, Dick Gephardt and other Dems signed on as junior—very junior—partners). It could undo his presidency, or it could solidify his popularity and political standing as America's protector. It remains the 800-pound X-factor—unless the North Korea situation worsens or terrorism strikes once more.

Entering Year Three, Bush is a potent President. It is sixteen months after 9/11. He has proven he can continue to exploit fully the natural boost in his approval ratings that followed the attacks—though they have been trending down. He and Rove have generally been even savvier than they were on the campaign trail. But with the tax cuts and the Pickering et al. nominations, Bush has outed himself. In 2000 he attempted to have it both ways. He was solidly conservative—tax cuts, partial privatization of Social Security, anti–abortion rights—while he plotted to blur the traditional differences between the parties by proclaiming that he, too, cared about education, healthcare, poor people, the elderly and minorities. That basic strategy is not going to change. But with his recent excesses—overreaching, the Democrats are saying longingly—Bush has further widened the gap between his conservatism and his (feigned) compassion. Optimistic Democrats smell opportunity.

During the 2002 Congressional elections, Democrats failed to distinguish themselves clearly enough from Bush. Well, now they can thank Bush for doing that job for them. His desire to go for the bold—using the political might he has skillfully amassed—offers his opposition an opening. Is it possible that the stronger Bush acts, the more vulnerable he will become? His foes can wish for that. Bush did thrive when he was underestimated. Perhaps he is a better target when overestimated—especially if by himself. ■

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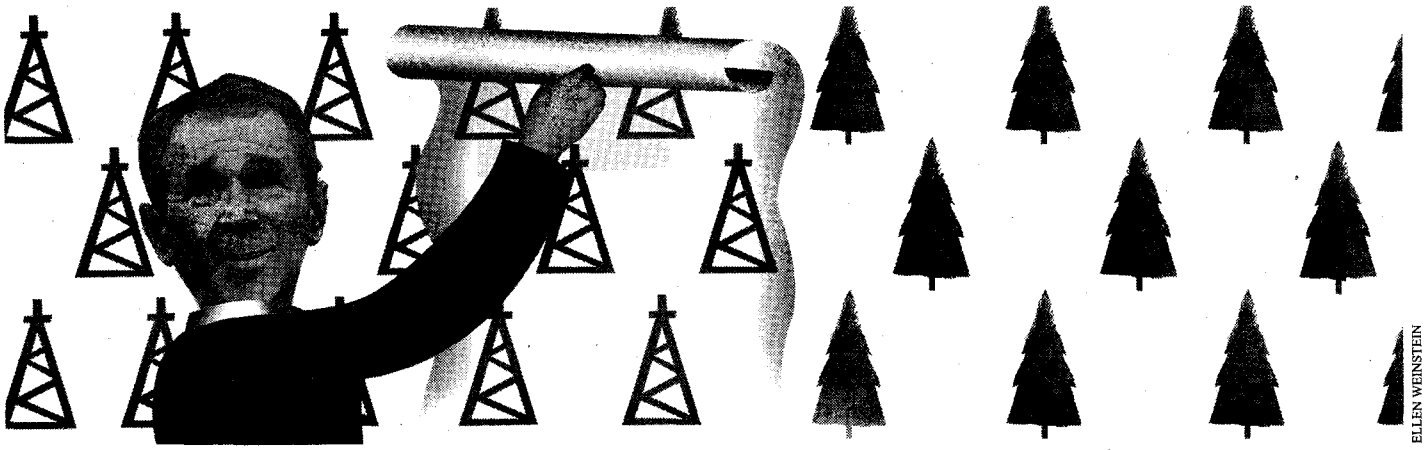

ELLEN WEINSTEIN

Trashing the Environment: Kyoto Was Just a Start for Bush

MARK HERTSGAARD

George W. Bush's assault on the environment over the past two years has been so blatant and relentless that even American television now reports it as a simple fact, like gravity. Is there another issue where Bush has gotten such critical news coverage? Not Iraq, where reports have made plain the Administration's determination to go to war but declined to challenge it. Not economics, though that could change if unemployment and federal deficits keep climbing. Some stories have mentioned Bush's bias toward the rich and corporate, but the tone of most economics coverage has been relatively respectful, except during the Enron scandal, and the White House slipped that noose by changing the subject to Saddam.

The environment, however, has been one bad story after another. Every week seems to bring news of a fresh abomination, from making environmental impact assessments in the national forests optional, to excusing the country's dirtiest power plants from upgrading their pollution controls, to stripping protection from 20 million acres of wetlands, to recycling nuclear waste within consumer goods. (The latter lunacy so far remains only a proposal, but it illustrates a mindset.)

The temptation in writing a midterm evaluation like this one is to list every anti-environmental action the Bush Administration has taken over the past two years. But that would make for long and tedious reading, and besides, environmental group websites already offer the information (see sidebar). Suffice it to say that no Administration since the dawn of the modern environmental era forty years ago has done more to facilitate degradation of the ecosystems that make life on earth possible.

The irony is that Bush has compiled this odious record without having an environmental policy as such. Instead, his environmental achievements—an ever-lengthening list of regulations relaxed, actions delayed and foxes put in charge of henhouses—have come mainly as a consequence of policies pursued in other fields: economic, military and, above all, energy. The environment is not even an afterthought for the Bush crowd. The Administration's energy plan, for example, never once mentions the words "climate change," even though its lopsided emphasis on fossil-fuel development promises to boost US greenhouse-gas emissions between 14 and 38 percent by 2007.

It's easy enough to say that Bush's approach reflects his and his top aides' pasts in the oil, mining, timber, chemical and electric utility industries. It's likewise easy to understand Bush's actions as thanks for the $44 million in contributions those industries showered on him and the Republican National Committee in 2000. Here, the indispensable resource is *Paybacks*, a report prepared by the NGOs Public Campaign and Earthjustice (www.publicampaign.org/publications/reports/paybacks/Paybacks.pdf). *Paybacks* offers the most complete listing available of which former corporate executives now oversee their erstwhile colleagues from which federal agencies. In a crowded field, perhaps the most egregious conflict of interest belongs to Steven Griles, the Deputy Interior Secretary. During two years of government service, Griles has continued to be paid $284,000 a year by his former lobby firm, National Environmental Strategies, where he represented mining companies. Apparently not a man to take something for nothing, Griles has returned the favor by meeting with and lobbying on behalf of former clients, most

Mark Hertsgaard is the author of The Eagle's Shadow *(Farrar, Straus & Giroux) and four previous books, including* Earth Odyssey *(Broadway). Research assistance was provided by the Investigative Research Fund of the Public Concern Foundation.*

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notably in the Administration's attempted recasting of the Clean Water Act to allow the dumping of mining debris into streams and rivers in Appalachia.

The ecological consequences of all this are as predictable as they are lamentable, but the questions that most urgently need answering are political. Why does the Bush Administration think it can get away with such a slash-and-burn approach to a mom-and-apple-pie issue? Surely Karl Rove, the powerful White House political director, is aware that poll after poll shows that large majorities of Americans care about clean air and water and support the goals of the environmental movement. And why have environmentalists, and specifically Democrats, had so little success in countering the Bush agenda? They turned back the last concerted effort to gut the nation's environmental laws, led by Newt Gingrich in 1995. Did that victory depend so heavily on Bill Clinton's veto threats that it can't be replicated now? Or do environmentalists need a new strategy?

George W. Bush is not the quickest calf in the pasture, but even he recognizes that it's risky for a US President to look bad on the environment. Back when Bush was running, his advisers organized dozens of tutorials to remedy his ignorance of global and presidential issues. Only one such session was devoted to the environment, and it was held in the living room of the Texas governor's mansion on an afternoon in May 1999, according to Steven Hayward, a senior fellow at the Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy, and Terry Anderson, the executive director of the Political Economy Research Center. Hayward and Anderson were two of fifteen experts who heard Bush open this meeting with the following request: "I am going to be the next President of the United States. And when I leave office, the air will be cleaner, the water will be cleaner and the environment will be better. Tell me how I'm going to make that happen."

By the end of the three-hour session, the assembled experts had assured Bush that he could accomplish this politically happy outcome without discomforting the corporate interests or right-wing groups central to his candidacy. The secret was to embrace what Gale Norton, soon to be Bush's Interior Secretary, called "a philosophy of environmental federalism." The idea, as Anderson later explained it, was that Washington should "devolve some responsibility for meeting environmental standards to local levels, where [officials] have better information about how to reduce pollution cost-effectively." A second element of the philosophy presented to Bush that afternoon was replacement of government regulation with market mechanisms such as corporate self-audits, a device Bush had implemented as governor. A third element was elevation of private-property rights over public prerogative.

These ideas had been gestating in right-wing and libertarian think tanks for years. Norton, for example, spent the first four years of her career at the Mountain States Legal Foundation, a nonprofit law firm co-founded by James Watt, Ronald Reagan's Interior Secretary, that frequently represented corporate interests. In a 1989 speech Norton's admiration for market mechanisms led her to suggest that corporations should "have a right to pollute" and then be charged accordingly. Her friend Hayward, who got Norton invited to the May 1999 meeting with Bush, conceded that she "put it poorly" but defended her underlying point: "Let's give landowners an incentive to protect species we want protected." The same basic reasoning underlies another concept that Norton championed for Bush that afternoon: "takings" theory, which asserts that government must compensate a landowner if a government policy precludes full economic exploitation of his property. Most environmentalists criticize takings theory as paying people to obey the law, but it is gaining ground under Bush. In a June 2001 decision the US Supreme Court endorsed takings theory by a 5-to-4 vote.

The intellectual rationale presented to Bush that afternoon in Austin has proven wonderfully convenient to him as President, for it enables him to tell himself he is helping the environment even as he pursues the corporate-friendly agenda that has defined his entire political career. How the philosophy translated into action became evident less than two weeks after Bush took office, when soaring electricity prices and threatened blackouts in California began making national news. Bush quickly blamed environmentalists and the overly stringent regulations they had supposedly imposed to keep the state from building enough power plants. California's energy shortages, Bush argued, were another reason to support his plan to open the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil drilling (which Vice President Dick Cheney promised could be done with minimal environmental impact). Environmentalists and public officials in California scoffed that the new President was talking nonsense. Just what devious nonsense, however, only became clear a year later, with the unfolding of the Enron scandal. What had really driven up electricity prices in California, it turned out, were the artificial shortages that Enron and other companies created by manipulating a deregulated marketplace. The right-wing gospel had said leave corporations alone and the environment would prosper, but reality in California proved otherwise.

Jump ahead now to the summer of 2002. Much of the nation has been suffering from prolonged, extreme drought. In the West, millions of acres have been ravaged by wildfires. Once again Bush is faced by a genuine public emergency. Once again he scapegoats environmentalists and federal regulators to advance a corporate agenda. During a visit to a still-smoldering forest in Oregon, the President declares that the wildfires are the result of irresponsible forest management. Excessive underbrush had accumulated, and then caught fire, because loggers had been prevented from thinning forests in a scientifically sound manner. From now on, said Bush, federal policy would promote well-managed forests and recognize that "there's nothing wrong with people being able to earn a living off of effective forest management." To set things right, Bush turned to a man who had long made a very good living from timber: Mark Rey, who was vice president of the American Forest and Paper Association before

Bush's Environmental Record	3/13/01	3/28/01	4/9/01	5/10/01	7/6/01	9/21/01	10/25/01	10/31/01
	Abandons pledge to reduce carbon dioxide emissions.	Rejects Kyoto Protocol.	Pushes to open the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil drilling.	Refuses to name industry participants in Cheney's energy task force.	Reduces funding for greenhouse-gas reductions in developing countries.	Uses terrorist attacks as excuse to weaken protection of wetlands.	Guts tough mining protections on federal lands.	Issues weake arsenic-in-drinking-wat standard.

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becoming Bush's Under Secretary of Agriculture. Rey's solution called for waiving fundamental stipulations of the National Environmental Protection Act, such as mandatory environmental-impact assessments, while making protection of wildlife an "optional" goal for national forest managers. With straight faces, Bush's spin doctors proclaimed it the "Healthy Forests Initiative."

In truth, the wildfires of 2002 were more likely rooted in an environmental reality that Bush refuses to confront: global climate change. Drought of the sort experienced in 2002 is exactly what scientists project will occur increasingly in the years ahead as global temperatures rise, bringing more extreme weather of all kinds. Thus killer floods punished central Europe and southern Asia in 2002, while Arctic ice is melting at record speed. The signs of impending disaster are so unmistakable and frightening that they are converting even such die-hard skeptics as Republican Senator Ted Stevens of Alaska, who has watched his state absorb billions of dollars of property damage as melting tundra buckles roads and buildings, and forests are consumed by a species of beetle suddenly able to survive in Alaska's warming climate.

Bush, meanwhile, remains loyal to his oil-industry roots: Global warming is something to study, not resist. Bush promised in a September 2000 campaign speech to regulate emissions of carbon dioxide (and three other pollutants). But it's doubtful he understood the implications of his speech, and once it became clear that honoring the promise would preclude the kind of energy plan Cheney cooked up in secret with Enron and other industry representatives, the promise obviously had to go. So did US support for the Kyoto Protocol on global warming, a move that provoked more anger overseas than perhaps any other action Bush took in his first year in office.

The White House has won the legal battle over whether it can keep secret the meetings that gave rise to the Bush energy plan, but who needs further proof of industry fingerprints when the policy speaks for itself? Its call for oil drilling in Alaska has driven discussion in Washington and therefore media coverage, but that may be a diversion. Even as environmental groups fundraise and Democratic senators threaten to filibuster over Alaska, the Administration has pursued a less-noticed but equally destructive aspect of its energy plan: encouraging drilling and mining of millions of acres of public land in the West, including national monument areas. Court rulings have blocked much of the Administration's efforts—so far.

The single most powerful action Washington could take to slow global warming would be to impose a meaningful increase in vehicle fuel-efficiency standards. The Bush philosophy instead dictates a voluntary plan to reduce emissions, one that respects corporations' freedom to make whatever products the market demands. Bush believes that, like him, America's corporate leaders care about the environment, and they will do more to protect it if government stops telling them how to do so (which explains why he has cut environmental enforcement budgets and prosecutions nearly 50 percent from Clinton-era levels). Let consumers start buying more hybrid-powered cars, and Detroit will respond.

The same faith in corporate goodness underlies the rollback of the Clean Air Act's so-called New Source Review provision, a policy that literally threatens death for thousands of Americans, especially very young and very old people who already suffer from asthma or other respiratory ailments. Approximately 75 percent of all power-plant emissions in the United States come from facilities built before 1977, which pollute four to ten times as much as plants with modern pollution controls. The Clean Air Act has long required companies to install modern pollution controls if they expand capacity at older plants. The companies complained that this requirement discouraged modernization and thereby prevented them from cutting pollution. The Administration has endorsed this logic with its new rules, which make pollution upgrades largely voluntary. The upshot, EPA Administrator Christie Whitman has promised, will be cleaner skies as corporations step up and do the right thing.

The military, however, may not even have to pretend to do the right thing. Perhaps the single most disturbing and overlooked environmental proposal of the past two years is the Pentagon's post–September 11 suggestion that it be exempted from environmental laws. Congress rejected this request last fall, but the Pentagon is back this session with a better-prepared proposal and is confident of victory. Robert Alvarez, a senior policy adviser to the Energy Secretary during the Clinton Administration, warns that such a policy could enable the military, the nation's biggest polluter, "to write off large areas of land, bodies of water, and the people that are dependent on them, just as the Soviet Union did." Nuclear weapons sites in particular, says Alvarez, might become "national sacrifice zones."

So, will Bush end up paying a price in 2004 for his betrayal of environmental values? His supporters in corporate America and the far right are apparently so blinded by their ideological biases that they perceive little political risk. Paul Weyrich, the president of the Free Congress Foundation, told the *Washington Post* in March 2001 that things would be fine as long as the body count didn't get too high: "There's a risk with some of the swing voters, but unless something happens where lots of people turn up dead before the election, these issues are not going to resonate with lots of voters." An unnamed senior Republican agreed, asserting that "unless there's a catastrophe, these decisions aren't going to affect a mom in Fairfax."

Karl Rove, however, has a more sophisticated analysis. He knows Americans, especially the suburban swing voters so coveted by presidential campaigns, care about the environment. But he thinks they care more about other issues: the economy, security (both economic and military) and healthcare. The environment, Rove reportedly calculates, ranks eighth or ninth among the average voter's priorities. He may be right—recent polls indicate that Americans oppose Bush's environmental actions by a 2-to-1 margin, yet 60 percent of them approve of the job he is doing as

/14/02	2/14/02	2/15/02	2/18/02	3/29/02	4/1/02	4/11/02	5/23/02	7/1/02
llows expand- l oil-drilling in ig Cypress Na- onal Preserve.	Rolls back power-plant pollution standards.	Backs Yucca Mountain plan for nuclear waste dump.	Eric Schaeffer, a top EPA official, resigns in protest of Bush policies.	Citing national security, Pentagon seeks environmental laws exemption.	Misses deadline to boost automobile efficiency.	Allows mining in Everglades.	Rolls back air-conditioner energy-efficiency standards.	Kills corporate tax on polluters that funds cleanup of toxic waste sites.

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President. So it may make sense for Bush to pursue an environmental agenda that rewards corporate backers and throws red meat to his right-wing base; the White House just has to make sure that it doesn't unleash its own Chernobyl in the process.

Remember the arsenic flap early in Bush's presidency? Many environmental issues are too technical or abstract to resonate with average voters, but the idea of allowing more arsenic in drinking water connects with nearly everyone, which is why the Administration quickly retreated. If opponents can make Bush's other policies equally visible in the media, and their dangers equally concrete to voters, they may force additional retreats and persuade significant numbers of voters to oppose his re-election.

Environmentalists in Washington fret that Republicans now control both houses of Congress and the White House, but this situation may be forcing the movement to recall that its true strength lies out in the country among the general public, which supports it by approximately 2 to 1. There is no reason the environmental movement has to be a marginal player in American politics. It commands significant financial resources, public credibility and intellectual capital. But too much fighting over turf and too little coordinated action has frequently left the movement in disarray. That may now be changing. According to a report in gristmagazine.com (another indispensable source of environmental news) by former *New York Times* reporter Keith Schneider, mainstream environmental groups have begun collaborating like never before in the face of the Bush threat. Their "collaborative defense campaign" mirrors part of Bush's strategy by focusing more effort on state and local resistance to environmental rollbacks, both among activist groups and such politicians as New York Attorney General Eliot Spitzer. The national groups also hope to mobilize public unease by highlighting one or two egregious, easily communicated environmental outrages (à la arsenic) and convincing politicians, both Democratic and moderate Republican, that they can win votes by opposing Bush's agenda.

In the longer run, environmentalists also need to get serious about economics if they want to make political progress. Perhaps because so much of the mainstream environmental movement is made up of affluent white people, they forget how close to the economic edge the majority of Americans live. Most Americans want to see the environment protected, but many fear the economic consequences. History shows that no issue except war has more effect on voters' views of a President than the economy. A policy to restore our damaged ecosystems and transform our technologies toward renewable energy and environmental sustainability would create more jobs and business opportunities than today's dead-end approach, but most Americans don't know that. A movement or a candidate who opened their eyes could become Bush's biggest nightmare. ■

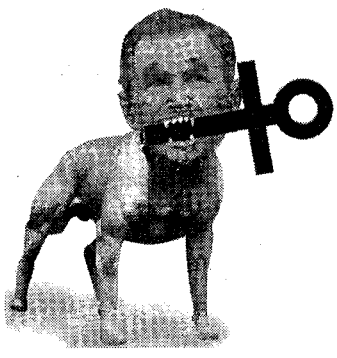
7/19/02	8/22/02	8/26–9/4/02	10/8/02	11/12/02	11/22/02	12/4/02	01/10/03	
Opposes Senate-backed renewable energy requirement.	Calls for increased logging in the name of fire prevention.	Only major leader not at UN Summit on Sustainable Development.	Stacks panel on lead poisoning with industry officials.	Announces plan to allow snowmobiles in two national parks.	Repeals rules requiring older factories to cut pollution emissions.	Defers action on global warming.	Plans to weaken Clean Water Act wetlands protections.	Compiled by Eric Ditzian. *Sources: Sierra Club and Natural Resources Defense Council.*

BUSH'S HANDPICKED DELEGATES DISRUPT GLOBAL CONFERENCES ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS.

Christian Soldiers on the March

JENNIFER BLOCK

In Jerry Jenkins and Tim LaHaye's bestselling *Left Behind* series (think of it as a Star Wars Trilogy for the religious right—it has sold 35 million copies), one-quarter of the world's population has mysteriously disappeared, and the most God-fearing among those "left behind" form the Tribulation Force, a troupe of evangelicals who believe the End of Days is nigh and the Secretary General of the United Nations is the Antichrist.



ELLEN WEINSTEIN

There's no evidence that George W. Bush owns the leather-bound collector's edition, but he certainly would sympathize with the T-Force's distaste for multilateralism. To every UN meeting that has occurred since he assumed the presidency, Bush has sent pit-bull delegations seemingly bent on ravaging both the global spirit as well as hard-fought consensus built throughout the past decade on social justice and human rights, especially women's rights.

To represent this country to the world, Bush has replaced career diplomats with career ideologues: John Klink, a former chief negotiator for the Vatican, has been on nearly every US delegation to a UN meeting, joined by Jeanne Head of the National Right to Life Committee, Janice Crouse of Concerned Women for America—the group founded by Tim LaHaye's wife, Beverly—and others from the "pro-family" lobby.

The Administration's international policies on sexual and reproductive health and rights, meanwhile, have been a Christian fundamentalist's dream. Within hours of the inaugural ball Bush was at his desk reviving the "global gag rule," which essentially corners humanitarian organizations worldwide into hushing up about abortion. He then stripped the UN Population

Jennifer Block is a New York–based freelance writer.

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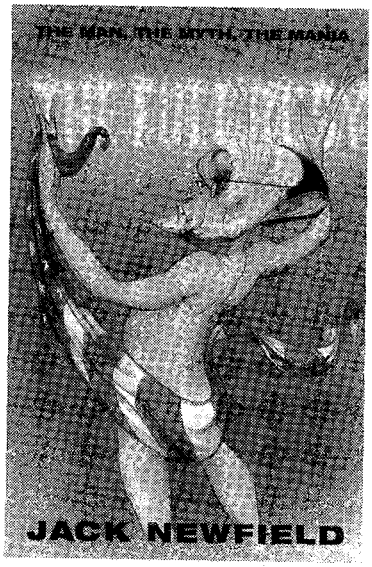

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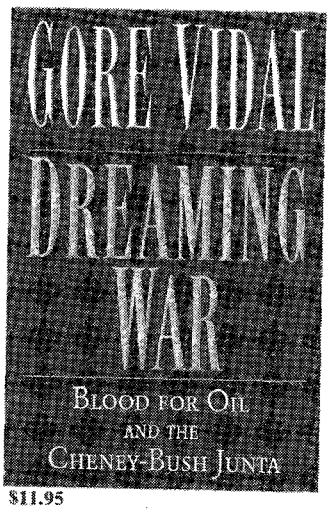

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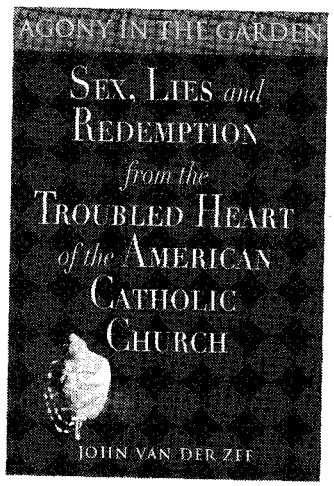

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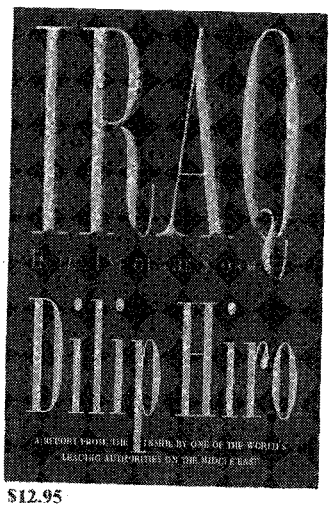

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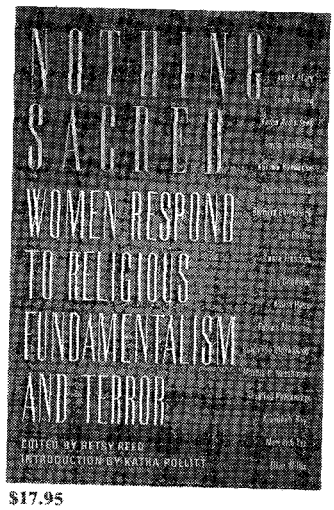
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Fund (UNFPA) of 12.5 percent of its budget, withheld $3 million from the World Health Organization's Human Reproduction Program and is now earmarking $33 million—almost exactly the amount he took away from the UNFPA—to augment domestic abstinence-until-marriage "sex-ed." He dispatched his emissaries to throw colossal tantrums at the UN General Assembly Special Session on Children, the World Summit on Sustainable Development and, most recently, the Fifth Asian and Pacific Population Conference, bringing all three negotiations to a near-halt over objections to no-brainer public health concepts like "consistent condom use" for HIV prevention and "safe abortion" where it is legal.

Charlotte Bunch, director of the Center for Women's Global Leadership, sees this attack as part of a larger assault on internationalism in general. "Their overall goal has always been to weaken the United Nations, in particular its capacity to be a constraining force on the flow of global capital and militarism," she says. "Attacking reproductive rights is convenient because it also delivers for the right wing." And it's low risk. "The Bush Administration has been able to get away with what would be appalling to most moderate Republicans," explains Jennifer Butler, the Presbyterian Church's UN representative, who tracks the Christian right's activities at the UN. Very few people—including members of the press—pay attention to UN meetings, she observes. "Bush can throw a bone to the Christian right and score some points, and he can do that without a cost."

In the international arena, Bush 'has been able to get away with what would be appalling to most moderate Republicans.'

Bush's first major foray into UN politics was in March 2001, when—perhaps still a little high from the fund-slashing frenzy—he sent the US delegation swaggering into the UN Commission on Human Rights like "cowboys," according to Bunch. The Geneva meeting is six weeks long, and "one of the most highly orchestrated; second only to the General Assembly in attention to detail of diplomacy," she says. The delegation's behavior was so indecorous that at the end of the session, the Europeans declined to re-elect the United States to the commission for the first time ever (they were invited back after 9/11).

Two months later, Bush sent professional right-to-lifer Jeanne Head to represent our country's global health interests at the annual World Health Assembly, quietly laying off the usual crew of reps from groups like the American Medical Association and American Public Health Association.

The Administration finally attracted widespread outrage when at the UN Special Session on Children, held in New York in May 2002, the Tommy Thompson–led US delegation made a grimly ironic alliance with Iran, Syria, Libya, Sudan and Iraq in the midst of Bush's "with us or against us" declaration of war on Islamic fundamentalists. Together, joined by the Vatican, these culture warriors fought to purge the world of comprehensive sex education for adolescents, restrict STD-prevention and contraceptive information to heterosexual married couples, and redefine "reproductive health services" to exclude legal abortion.

Most of the 3,000 activists and diplomats in attendance came to New York intending to negotiate broader definitions and commit more services to young people, who are becoming infected with HIV at the rate of five per minute, according to the UN. Instead, they had to fight tooth and nail just to hang on to language already on the books. "The United States really hijacked the whole session," says Françoise Girard of the International Women's Health Coalition. Example: During discussion of a section referring to children in postconflict situations, Washington harped on the word "services" because it might imply emergency contraception or abortion. "Nobody could understand why the United States would oppose language that was basically saying, 'When there are children who have been victims of violence and trauma in war, we need to provide them with services,'" says Zonny Woods of Action Canada for Population and Development. "But because among those victims of violence there might be girls who were victims of rape, who might be offered emergency contraception or an abortion, they were willing to throw away the whole concept of 'services.' It was just insane."

The US delegation succeeded in watering down the agreement, removing a paragraph on adolescent sexuality education and also some references to reproductive health services. And it blocked consensus on opposing capital punishment for adolescents, a detail that got lost in the media focus on the US obsession with abortion and abstinence.

At the World Summit on Sustainable Development, in Johannesburg last September, it was, as they say, déjà vu all over again. The United States, again in the dugout with the Holy See and a number of Islamic countries, deadlocked negotiations until the eleventh hour, opposing a litany of items, including language that would characterize female genital mutilation, forced child marriage and honor killings as human rights violations. "In the end, at 1 in the morning, they agreed to language that was almost identical to what they'd been fighting the whole time," says June Zeitlin, executive director of the Women's Environment and Development Organization. "We got what we wanted. But the United States succeeded in stalling the conference and in alienating a lot of countries."

Then came the real weapon of mass destruction, as far as women's rights are concerned: On November 1, Bush announced that the United States was considering withdrawing its support from the landmark agreement reached by 179 countries at the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo. For the global women's movement, the ICPD is considered a watershed event—the first time an official connection was made between population control and empowering women with information and contraception. With the Fifth Asian and Pacific Population Conference in Bangkok looming in December—a regional meeting for delegates to review the advances made in implementing the ICPD, not to revisit its basic principles—the United States was threatening to oppose the document unless all references to "reproductive health services" and "reproductive rights" were deleted.

But this time the Administration miscalculated. "They really overplayed their hand," says Françoise Girard. At an especially

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revealing moment during the December 11–17 showdown in Bangkok, US adviser Elaine Jones, an international relations officer in the State Department, took the microphone to express her country's—our country's—insistence that natural family-planning methods be emphasized in the conference document, offering her own experience with the Billings method of birth control (which involves checking the viscosity of one's own cervical mucus): "I've used the Billings method for ten years," Jones announced, "and it works." As titters spread across the room, one of the first of many responses came from, of all places, Iran. "Well, I'm an Ob-Gyn," said the Iranian delegate. "I have to tell you that natural family-planning methods have a very high failure rate. And by the way, it says so in all the textbooks that come from United States."

Less touchy-feely were the threats reportedly made by the United States to individual countries, specifically to the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Nepal, to withhold their piece of the USAID pie if they didn't vote along with the US delegation. "They were trying to push some governments around pretty hard," said one UN official on condition of anonymity.

'It's like Bush is sacrificing the women of the world to pay his political dues,' says Terri Bartlett of Population Action International.

"This is the fringe who've taken over US policy on sexual and reproductive health," says Girard. "Some people asked me, 'Do you think they're doing this because they want to save our souls?'" One first-time attendee from the United States said, "If they didn't have so much power I'd feel sorry for them."

In the end, however, the US delegation lost everything. When they demanded a roll-call vote on two sections of the ICPD agreement (dealing with reproductive rights and adolescent health) which they found objectionable, the votes came in at 31 to 1 and 32 to 1, with two countries abstaining—notably, Nepal and Sri Lanka. "They thought calling a vote would intimidate the Asians," says Girard, "when all it did was put on the record that the United States was completely isolated." Another observer remarked that the Americans "played themselves out of the game."

Ultimately, the Americans backed down on their threats to renounce the whole agreement, but they stunned other delegations with their "general reservation" to the document, a schizophrenic two-page addendum expressing disappointment that "the promotion of women's full enjoyment of all human rights is not emphasized more often," while also declaring, "Because the United States supports innocent life from conception to natural death, the United States does not support, promote, or endorse abortions, abortion-related services or the use of abortifacients." (Girard points out that if life begins at conception, the garden-variety Pill would be illegal.) The United States also opposed the term "unsafe abortion," a position explained by Jeanne Head during a fifteen-minute tirade at the closing ceremony: Abortion is never safe, because someone—the fetus—always dies. Thus the US delegation stated in its reservation, "The illegality of abortion cannot be construed as making it unsafe."

Says Girard, "If there was any doubt that Bush wants to overturn *Roe v. Wade*, it is clear now."

Sally Ethelston, vice president of Communications for Population Action International (PAI), remembers Cairo. "I'll never forget the faces of country delegates the afternoon they had finished their hardest negotiations. People emerged beaming because they knew they had forged something that would take the discussion so much further. And the United States played a major role in that process. What we see now is the United States playing the role of the bully."

"It's like Bush is sacrificing the women of the world to pay his political dues," says Terri Bartlett, also of PAI.

Regardless of whether Bush's machinations are payback to the religious right or born of a core belief that the UN will bring about the fall of man, activists in the global women's movement are not taking any more chances. Though many were expecting a 5th World Conference on Women to take place in Helsinki in 2005 (especially the Finns), the present consensus is that a ten-year follow-up to the 1995 conference in Beijing would be far too much of a risk. "Beijing is an incredible document," says Françoise Girard. "You look at it and really say, 'Wow.'" Still, women's activists are quick to insist that Bush isn't the only factor. "I wouldn't give him all the credit," says Zonny Woods. Conferences are a huge drain on time and resources, taking the best and brightest away from their work implementing the agreement. "If you think about it, we've been either having a major UN conference or preparing one for the past twelve years."

Indeed, the 1990s were not just about globalization of capital: There was the Rio conference in 1992, then a series of negotiations on climate change, forests and biodiversity. There were conferences on habitat, population and development, women, social development, human rights; then each of those had five-year reviews; then there were the conferences on racism, aging and HIV/AIDS; then the Special Session on Children.

"We don't need another conference in 2005," says Charlotte Bunch. "We need to keep working on implementing the Beijing platform. It hasn't been realized. Perhaps in 2010, or 2008, it will be a better political moment."

On the other hand, notes Jennifer Butler, the destructive role of the Bush Administration deserves wide attention. "If we don't tell people what's really going on, how can we mobilize them?" The UN shapes global norms, she argues, and if the superpower breaks away, it gives every other country license to back away from its commitments. "Since Beijing, you can't speak of any major world issue without applying some sort of gender lens," she says. Health ministries have implemented new programs, budgets have been allocated, national policy has been revised. But if Bush is allowed to continue his attack, "we will see a roll-back, a slow erosion of the world culture that has been redefined to say it's not OK to violate women's rights."

And it's not only feminists who are fearful. There's plenty of buzz within the UN about how these conferences need to be made more, let's say, childproof. "We have got to figure out a way to avoid this again, because this is not productive at all. Because AIDS won't wait. Unwanted pregnancies won't wait," says a UN official.

Says Butler, "Maybe it's time to sound the alarm bells." ■

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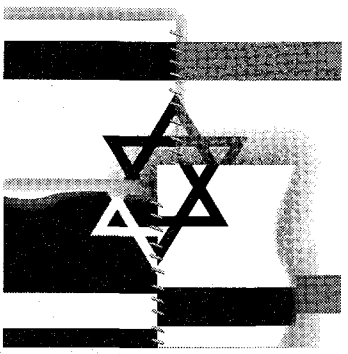
A CONTINUATION OF THE CURRENT SITUATION WILL UNDERMINE ISRAELI DEMOCRACY.

Israel's Dangerous Crossroads

HILLEL SCHENKER

Tel Aviv

In December, on the eve of the primaries for the upcoming Knesset elections, polls predicted that the Likud Party would get forty-one seats out of 120 and, together with the far right and Orthodox religious parties, would have a clear seventy-seat majority. Ariel Sharon was a shoo-in for a second term as prime minister, and was in a position to more or less dictate policy.



ELLEN WEINSTEIN

But as election day drew near, the Likud declined dramatically, to around thirty seats in the polls, and *Ma'ariv*, the most right-wing of the three major dailies, wrote that Sharon is in the "Battle of His Life." What happened? "Not peace and security," continued *Ma'ariv*, "not the question of a Palestinian state, not unemployment, not the rapidly deteriorating economic situation—it is the honesty of the Prime Minister that is on the line."

When Sharon was elected prime minister in February 2001, the country was four months into the second intifada, its economy was shrinking rapidly and there was no end in sight. The spin was that after an impulsive, scandal-plagued military and political career, Sharon had been transformed into a grandfatherly elder statesman who would responsibly provide security, peace and a rejuvenated economy to the children of Israel.

Sharon has not delivered on any of his promises. During the past two years, more than 700 Israelis have been killed, with more than 4,000 wounded (the corresponding figures for Palestinians is about 1,800 killed and more than 20,000 wounded); unemployment has gone from a low of 6 percent in 1996, during the heart of the peace process, to close to 11 percent at the end of 2002; people stare at the rare tourists as if they were exotic aliens from Mars; and investors are steering clear of the entire Middle East. There is no political vision on the horizon and still no end in sight.

Instead of providing a clear alternative to Sharon's inability to provide answers, the Labor Party spent the past two years compromising itself by participating in a paralyzing national-unity government that totally discredited the party leader, Benjamin Ben-Eliezer, who was defense minister, and Shimon Peres (foreign minister) as viable alternatives. This paved the way for Haifa Mayor Amram Mitzna to challenge Ben-Eliezer for the party leadership. Ben-Eliezer in turn pulled Labor out of the government and forced new elections to shore up his position on the left in the upcoming party race; but he lost out to Mitzna, who became Labor's candidate for national leadership.

A former general, Mitzna does not mince words. Apparently unable or unwilling to play the usual politician's game of blurring his positions to satisfy the broadest public possible, he says there is no military solution to the conflict and that peace is the key to economic recovery. Echoing Yitzhak Rabin in 1992, Mitzna calls for a reorganization of national priorities, wants to transfer funds from the settlements to the social and economic infrastructure within the State of Israel proper and calls on the settlers to come home. Posing a clear alternative to Sharon's refusal to resume negotiations, he proposes a return to Rabin's dual approach of confronting terror while simultaneously carrying out negotiations with any authorized Palestinian representative, including Palestinian Authority (PA) head Yasir Arafat, declared persona non grata by both Sharon and President Bush. If those talks fail, he promises a unilateral withdrawal from all of Gaza and from the majority of the West Bank (a policy paper suggests 63 percent of the territory), the establishment of a temporary physical barrier to reduce terrorism (which Sharon opposes because it suggests borders) and removal of settlements on the other side of the barrier until the time is ripe to negotiate a permanent political settlement.

Until recently, the fact that the majority of Israelis support almost all of Mitzna's declared positions made no dent in Sharon's popularity, or the presumed outcome of the elections. Then came the Likud primaries and revelations that some candidates gained their positions through bribery, and were even associated with criminal elements. When the liberal daily *Ha'aretz* broke the story that Sharon and his sons were implicated in a campaign finance scandal, the prime minister himself was tainted. Suddenly, Mr. Teflon, to whom nothing had stuck during the past two years, was converted from "Grandfather" to "Godfather."

Before the scandals broke, Mitzna's campaign had not taken off. The new Labor leader is up against a very complex reality:

§ *Camp David*: When Prime Minister Ehud Barak, Arafat and President Clinton met at Camp David in 2000, the Israeli public thought that we were on the verge of a permanent peace agreement that would continue the positive economic and social trends of the 1990s, begun with the 1991 Madrid Conference and the 1993 signing of the Oslo Accords. When Camp David ended in failure, and was soon followed by the outbreak of the second, violent intifada, Israelis went into a collective trauma. I don't want to dwell on the reasons for the failure here—suffice it to say that the Israeli, Palestinian and US leaderships all share part of the blame and should have prepared a backup in case the talks failed. But the result was a tremendous loss of confidence between Israelis and Palestinians. And Barak's inability to engage in self-criticism, his claim that he "did everything possible, left no stone unturned" and that the Palestinians were totally to blame, has only served to undercut the Israeli left [see Carey, page 24].

Along comes Mitzna, who says, Let's resume where we left off at Camp David and the subsequent talks. But the majority of the

Hillel Schenker, a Tel Aviv journalist, is a veteran commentator on Israeli-Arab affairs and managing editor of the Palestine-Israel Journal.

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Israeli public simply doesn't believe it's possible. Mitzna's response has not been to challenge Barak's "generous offer" at Camp David but rather to say that Sharon has provided no solutions to the deteriorating security and economic situation. Without the scandals, though, his campaign would have gotten nowhere.

§ *The Palestinians*: While the second intifada was probably not the product of a conscious, planned strategy of the Palestinian leadership—to get by the gun what couldn't be gained at the negotiating table—but rather of ongoing frustrations because of continued Israeli settlement expansion and the lack of visible fruits of a dragged-out negotiating process, the result of two and a half years of violence on both sides has been the virtual destruction of the PA as a viable governing body. This may have been Sharon's fantasy as he climbed onto the Temple Mount in September 2000, but the Palestinians fell into his trap, and the result has been a drastic decline in the socioeconomic situation of the average Palestinian. Another outcome is that the average Israeli no longer believes the Palestinians support a two-state solution, despite the fact that this is the official PA position. This has led many Palestinian intellectuals and leaders, for example Sari Nusseibeh and Ziad Abu-Zayyad, to do some private and public soul-searching about the nature and direction of the struggle. Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen), Arafat's deputy, made a number of statements criticizing militarization of the conflict as counterproductive. In a recent interview in Abu Dhabi's *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat*, he noted that "a large percentage of Israelis want peace, but they also want security." And younger West Bank Fatah leader Marwan Barghouti, who from his position in an Israeli prison is a candidate to be a future "Palestinian Nelson Mandela," has affirmed his commitment to a two-state solution and given his blessings to the Fatah-Hamas dialogue in Cairo to end suicide bombings.

The problem is that this is probably too little, and definitely too late, for this election campaign. The impact of the accumulation of suicide attacks is still more powerful. The recent horrific suicide bombings in Tel Aviv, which killed twenty-two Israelis and foreign workers, is not exactly a message that inspires trust.

§ *The Americans*: With all the best intentions, no other third party, whether they be the Europeans, the United Nations or the Egyptians, can substitute for US leverage when it comes to facilitating a resolution of the conflict. Here there is unfortunately a huge difference between George Bush the father and George Bush the son. In 1991, after the first Gulf War, it was Secretary of State James Baker who twisted arms throughout the Middle East to insure the convening of the Madrid Conference, which set the peace process in motion. In 1992 it was Bush's refusal to provide loan guarantees to a Likud government that helped to elect Rabin and led to the Oslo Accords.

What do we have this time around? The current President Bush is more or less giving Sharon a blank check to do whatever he wants, "within reason," i.e., don't touch Arafat himself, don't support "transfer" (expulsion) of the Palestinians and don't rock the Middle Eastern boat as we prepare for a possible war with Iraq. What Bush is not doing is providing any inducements for resumption of a diplomatic process.

Another US President, who supported active efforts for conflict resolution, would have kept to the schedule of announcing an official Quartet (US, Russia, EU and UN) "Roadmap for Middle East Peace" in December, which would have had a positive im-

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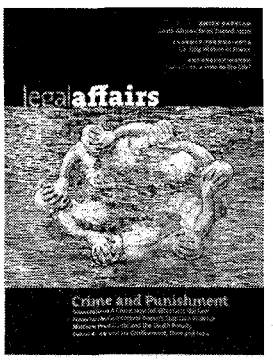

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The Other Israel

When the new intifada erupted, the mainstream Israeli peace movement was deeply shaken. Peace Now is close to the Labor and Meretz party leaderships and was thus inclined to accept Ehud Barak's spurious claim that at Camp David he had made reasonable settlement proposals. The group went into hibernation as the violence escalated, leaving the peace movement to small progressive groups thoroughly outside the mainstream, which shifted rapidly to the right (though Peace Now has reawakened of late, joining several dozen opposition organizations in protesting the recent attacks on Arab Knesset members as a threat to democracy).

One year ago, this rightward trend was interrupted when a group of Israeli army reservists—from the patriotic, Zionist mainstream, no less—made headlines by announcing their refusal to serve in the occupied territories. They would no longer, they said, "dominate, expel, starve and humiliate an entire people." The military and political establishment, fearful of the potential influence of these young refuseniks, first responded with denunciations and threats.

Within a couple of months, several hundred had joined the original eight, increasing the confidence of Courage to Refuse, as the group is called; indeed, they often invoked the prognostication of famed Rabbi Yeshayahu Leibowitz, who said, soon after Israel conquered the territories in 1967, that if only 500 soldiers would refuse to serve, the occupation would crumble.

Now Courage to Refuse has more than 500 signatures, but the occupation forges ahead; in fact, last summer the army fully reoccupied most of the territories, systematically destroying the structures of Palestinian economic and political life. Not only that, but the refuseniks fell out of the headlines—until December, that is, when, adding insult to ignorance, the Israeli Supreme Court ruled that refusal based on the argument that occupation is illegal, rather than classic conscientious objection, would "weaken the ties that bind us as a nation."

There's no question the movement was eclipsed partly because of a series of horrendous suicide bombings, culminating in the Passover atrocity in Netanya last March, after which Ariel Sharon called up 20,000 reserves—who eagerly obliged—for a full-scale invasion of the territories. As long as civilians are being blown up in Israel proper, the government has little difficulty convincing most of the public that its operations in the territories are a necessary defense against terrorism.

Another reason the refuseniks (and one must include among them the much older and more left-wing refusal group Yesh Gvul, or "There Is a Limit," and the high school seniors known as Shministim) have so far failed to force major changes is that after its initial panicked response, the army shrewdly changed tactics, ceasing public attacks while putting quiet but enormous pressure on the media to give them less attention. For the most part, the press has complied. As one frustrated refusenik put it recently, "The first six pages of the newspapers are devoted to security and political reports that come from the establishment.... We have no chance of penetrating this wall." Anat Matar, a veteran dissident and the mother of one jailed high school refusenik, said recently there is "near-total rule of the IDF over everything.... people unwilling to be swallowed up by fascism are compelled to turn resistance into practice—not into a single, one-time performance."

One must look to the stubborn persistence of veteran women activists to get the full flavor of the peace movement today. New Profile, which seeks a thoroughgoing revaluation of Israel's "militarized consciousness," and Women in Black, which has been protesting the occupation for fifteen years, combined with Bat Shalom and several other groups to form the Coalition of Women for a Just Peace after the outbreak of the new intifada; they have helped turn the broader movement from protest to resistance. Machsom ("Checkpoint") Watch is part of this new activism; the women involved monitor these crucial nodes of repression, reporting on the IDF's humiliation and brutality and often preventing it by their mere presence. The women's organizations have joined with Gush Shalom, Rabbis for Human Rights ("the rabbinic voice of conscience in Israel"), the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions and other groups in going into the territories to actively resist the army's repression.

Perhaps the most promising of the new organizations is Ta'ayush. This is partly because it is organized, from the very beginning and at all levels, as a genuine Jewish-Palestinian partnership, something new for Israeli peace groups. It is also focused on determined and active, though always nonviolent, aid to the Palestinian struggle. This generally means marching and/or driving convoys into the territories, often with supplies of desperately needed food and other aid, to relieve besieged villagers. It also means sometimes getting tear-gassed, blasted with water cannons or savagely beaten by soldiers.

The next stage is for the peace movement to connect anti-occupation activism with social justice issues in Israel—too often in the past, peace activists, usually middle class and Ashkenazi, have slighted working-class, Palestinian and Mizrahi (Sephardic) economic and equal-rights struggles in Israel proper. This has had detrimental consequences; the reactionary Shas and Likud parties, for example, have exploited this neglect to gain the support of the Mizrahi population. And a social-justice/peace coalition will become critical as the full consequences of Israel's neoliberal economic reforms and wave of privatizations make themselves felt, alongside the current recession resulting from the intifada. In this respect, an anti-occupation/left movement is part of the larger global-justice movement against the Washington Consensus.

As long as the occupation continues, there will be resistance, from Israeli and international activists as well as Palestinians. The best chance—perhaps the only chance, given the shift of the Israeli electorate to the right—for ending it is through the strengthening of this burgeoning international coalition, as the progressive Israeli groups coordinate with ones in Europe, with the International Solidarity Movement and with such US organizations as Al-Awda, Jews Against the Occupation and the Tikkun Community. And media outlets like the news website Electronic Intifada ("Palestine's weapon of mass instruction") will be crucial in puncturing the mainstream's disinformation.

The refuseniks? They're not giving up at all; in fact, they just launched a new media campaign, while their numbers continue to grow.

ROANE CAREY

Roane Carey is the editor of The New Intifada *(Verso) and co-editor, with Jonathan Shainin, of* The Other Israel *(New Press).*

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pact on the Israeli elections. Another President would hold up an economic carrot as inducement to resume negotiations. The opportunity is there—Sharon sent emissaries to Washington requesting $12 billion in additional aid and loan guarantees—but Bush didn't seize it; he let Sharon get away with the spin that aid will be coming after the elections, with no conditions.

Actually, the problem is deeper. When the Bush Administration took over, its approach to international affairs veered toward an isolationist disengagement from all efforts at conflict resolution, including abrogation of many treaties that served as the cornerstone of a more secure and stable world. The trauma of September 11 shocked the Administration into engagement—but unfortunately it has taken the form of an imposed Pax Americana. That's not what the Middle East and other trouble spots need, and it's also highly questionable whether it will work. Sharon jumped at the opportunity created by 9/11 to promote his long-held dream of "regime change" as a basis for foreign policy, and he found a willing ally in Bush. It didn't work in Lebanon in 1982, and it won't work in Palestine. Sharon also used the opportunity to promote the equation of "Arafat = bin Laden," convincing Bush to join him in the delegitimization of the Palestinian leader. Despite all his flaws, there is a world of difference between Arafat and his colleagues, who are ready to negotiate for a two-state solution, and bin Laden, with whom no dialogue or negotiation is possible.

Bush is giving Sharon a blank check to do whatever he wants but is not providing any inducements for resumption of diplomacy.

§ *Sharon*: In his old age (he turns 75 this month) Sharon has become a masterful tactician. He has positioned himself at the center of Israeli politics, fending off both the extreme right and the left. Unlike his Likud rival Netanyahu, he has declared that he supports a Palestinian state and is ready for "painful concessions" to achieve an agreement (though he does nothing to bring that day closer). He even claims that any Likud politician who doesn't agree with him won't serve in his next Cabinet. This makes him sound like a realistic, responsible leader to the majority of Israelis, while the far right (which supports "transfer," the immediate expulsion of Arafat and is totally opposed to a Palestinian state under any circumstances) appears dangerous, and the left's possibility of a peace agreement appears utopian. Sharon also understands the lesson the pragmatic David Ben-Gurion taught: that Israel always has to maintain an alliance with a superpower. Today this translates into care not to anger the Americans.

§ *Winds of War*: When the Likud scandals hit the front pages, Sharon went out of his way to fan the fears of a future US/Iraq war. He arranged a photo-op examination of home-front readiness for a possible Iraqi attack against Israel, sending a not-so-subtle reminder that the public shouldn't change leaders with war on the horizon. The fact that the UN inspection team is scheduled to submit its report on January 27, one day before the elections, will only reinforce this impression. The catch is, What will the White House do after the Iraq crisis is resolved, one way or the other? At that point, there will be no more excuses to delay publication of the Quartet's roadmap, which, if seriously pursued, would lead to the establishment of "a viable, independent Palestinian State living side by side in peace and security with Israel" by 2005.

§ *Israeli Democracy*: Israel's 1948 Declaration of Independence said the state would be "based on freedom, justice and peace…[and would] ensure complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, race or sex…." That promise was threatened by a recent majority decision (21 to 19) of the Central Election Committee that barred two Arab members of the Knesset, Ahmed Tibi and Azmi Bishara, and Bishara's National Democratic Alliance (Balad) Party from competing in the elections. The decision was made purely along party lines—the right was for, the left against. The right understands that any future victory for the left depends upon an alliance between the liberal-left Jewish parties and Arab parties, so for them the political arithmetic is simple: Ban the Arabs. The trouble is that this would seriously undermine the fabric of Israel's democracy and send it down the road toward an apartheid-like structure, with all the negative internal (serious tensions between Jews and the Arab minority, now 20 percent of the population) and external (a growing campaign to boycott Israel) repercussions. Fortunately, since the chairman of the committee is a Supreme Court justice opposed to the decision, no one was surprised when the Court reversed it. This has given new impetus for Arab citizens to participate in the elections.

However, this was not the only warning sign concerning the state of Israel's democracy. None of the past five prime ministers have served a full term. The divisions and fragmentation of Israeli politics—there were nineteen parties in the last Knesset—are beginning to recall the instability of France's Fourth Republic.

As the campaign enters its final stages, Mitzna says Labor will refuse to serve in a unity government under Sharon—"the public has to choose"—while the surprise joker of these elections, the anti-clerical, neoliberal, centrist Shinui Party (polls predict a jump from six to sixteen seats) will serve only in a secular Likud-Labor-Shinui coalition. This might force Sharon, who prefers a centrist, unity arrangement, to form a narrow, shaky coalition based only on the Likud and far-right parties. In any event, the pluralistic, left-wing Meretz Party, which will remain in opposition to a Sharon-led government in all circumstances, plans to form a new social democratic party after the elections, together with Yossi Beilin's breakaway Labor group, the left Russian Democratic Choice Party and elements from the Arab sector.

Israeli politicians usually don't like long-term planning. Yet on August 25, Gen. Uzi Dayan, then head of the National Security Council, submitted a lengthy position paper to the government on the country's problems and goals. It places at the head of national priorities "the need to maintain a solid Jewish majority and a democratic regime.... the only realistic way to do this is to plan state borders that will include a minimal number of Palestinians." The paper asserts that a continuation of the current situation will undermine Israeli democracy. It also stresses the need to define clear-cut borders to maintain a democratic society and promote other worthy social goals. Many psychologists and educators reinforce this message by saying that the lack of clear borders (physical and psychological) is one of the contributing causes to the rise of youth and domestic violence within Israeli society.

Sharon, of course, buried the report. But the writing is in the paper, and on the wall. ■

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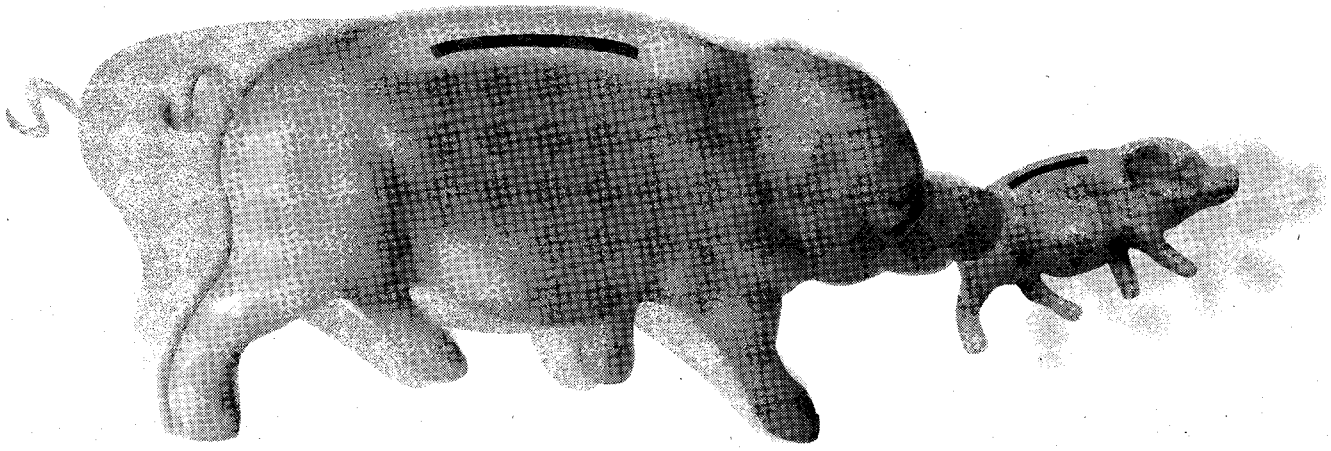
IT'S TIME TO CALL A HALT TO THE CORPORATE FINANCIAL SCANDALS BY INSTITUTING REAL REFORMS. WE SHOULD ALSO START REWARDING SOCIALLY CONSCIOUS COMPANIES.



ELLEN WEINSTEIN

No More Pigs at the Trough: How to Cure Infectious Greed

ARIANNA HUFFINGTON

In August of 2002 I received a politely phrased notice from my cable company, Adelphia, addressed to "Dear Valued Customer," announcing that my monthly cable fee would be increasing. The letter explained that "like other businesses, Adelphia constantly faces increases in operational expenses such as wages, specialized training for our employees, utilities, fuel, insurance, equipment...." Missing from the missive? Any mention of another operational expense that no one at Adelphia seemed too happy to discuss. During the unfortunate latter days of his reign, former CEO John Rigas had borrowed $3.1 billion from the company and spread the money around like seed on a sun-scorched lawn. His own lawn, of course. He spent $13 million to build a golf course in his backyard, $150 million to buy the Buffalo Sabres hockey team, $65 million to fund a venture-capital group run by his son-in-law, thousands to maintain his three private jets, and $700,000 for a country-club membership. It's a wonder my bill's not going up a million dollars a month. I just hope Adelphia's subscribers aren't also paying for his bail.

In the superheated 1990s we were told repeatedly that the "democratization of capital" and unparalleled increases in productivity would level the playing field and produce unprecedented gains in everyone's standard of living. Well, far from closing the vast gap between the haves and the have-nots, the lunatic excesses and the frenzy of fraud perpetrated by our high-flying corporate chieftains have left America's 401(k)s and pension plans in ruins and more than 8 million people out of work. Meanwhile, despite the much-vaunted Corporate Responsibility Act and the highly publicized roundup of a few of the most heinous offenders, the awful truth is that the corporate tricksters have pillaged the US economy and gotten away with it. They're still living in their gargantuan houses, still feasting on their wildly inflated salaries and engorging themselves on staggering sums of stock options, while the rest of America tries to figure out how to rebuild for retirement. Or send a kid to college on a worthless stock portfolio.

Since, at its heart, the corporate scandal is a political scandal—corporate money corrupts politicians, who, by passing or neglecting to pass laws, make corporate crime possible and profitable—it's hard to see how we will ever get rid of this corporate hangover until we cure our politicians' unslakable thirst for campaign cash. Ultimately, the only way is by adopting the Clean Money, Clean Elections model, which replaces the nonstop money-grab with full public financing of elections. In the meantime, a whole raft of specific corporate reforms is urgently needed:

§ *Treat stock options as the expenses they are.* This reform was dropped from the Sarbanes-Oxley bill—a set of financial-sector reforms passed by Congress last summer—even before it hit the Senate floor. Tom Daschle, fresh from getting an earful from venture capitalist and big-time Democratic Party donor John Doerr (Doerr and his wife have given $619,000 to Democrats since 1999), pummeled John McCain's attempt to force a vote on stock-option reform, before jetting off to Nantucket.

§ *Make breaching the Chinese wall between research analysts and investment bankers illegal.* The Sarbanes-Oxley bill has

Arianna Huffington, a nationally syndicated columnist, is the author of nine books, including Pigs at the Trough *(Crown), from which this article is adapted. Born in Greece, she received an MA in economics from Cambridge University.*

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done nothing to make it harder for investment banks to deceive investors with overly optimistic research, using their research departments to land banking business.

§ *Prohibit accounting firms from providing consulting services while auditing a company's books.* Under Sarbanes-Oxley, the provision of consulting services by audit firms is only restricted somewhat, not made illegal.

§ *Outlaw offshore tax havens and, in the meantime, bar companies that move their headquarters overseas from competing for government contracts.* The Sarbanes-Oxley bill neither bans nor restricts the use of tax havens by American corporations. Nor does it ban or restrict government contracts from going to these companies. In 2001 alone such contracts topped $1 billion.

§ *Regulate the special-purpose entities used for the complex, off-balance-sheet transactions that were at the heart of the Enron debacle.* No new rules governing special-purpose entities were included in the Sarbanes-Oxley bill, so, for the moment, they can still be hidden off the company's books.

§ *Strengthen whistleblower protection and insure that it shields all workers equally.* This vital reform was covered in the Sarbanes-Oxley bill, but only with very ambiguous language that allowed the President, hours after signing the bill into law, to issue a White House interpretation limiting whistleblower protection to those providing information during a Congressional investigation.

§ *Strengthen the independence of corporate boards.* At the moment, the New York Stock Exchange and the NASDAQ are proposing that companies have a board with a simple majority of independent directors. If approved by the Securities and Exchange Commission, the new rules will apply to the 2,300 US

Fun-Fact Quiz

1. Which of the following statements is true?
A: George W. Bush has been arrested four times.
B: George W. Bush is the first President with an MBA.
(Answer: B. Bush has been arrested only three times: once for drunk driving, in 1976, and twice while a student at Yale—for ripping down the goal posts after a Princeton/Yale game and for stealing a Christmas wreath from a hotel. He managed to avoid arrest at Harvard Business School, from which he graduated in 1975.)

2. Which jobs did Bernie Ebbers have prior to becoming CEO of WorldCom?
A: Gym teacher, milkman and bar bouncer.
B: Bookkeeper, shoeshine-stand operator and paper cutter.
(Answer: A. Bookkeeper, shoeshine-stand operator and paper cutter were all jobs held by Al Capone.)

3. True or false? In the mid-1990s, indicted former CEO John Rigas put his home phone number on Adelphia's cable bills.
(Answer: True. It is not true, however, that he asked customers to check a box on their bill if they'd like to donate one dollar to the "John Rigas Bail Fund.")

4. Which of the following is a job previously held by Martha Stewart?
A: Cancer drug developer.
B: Stockbroker.
C: Bail bondsman.
(Answer: B. Bail bondsman is probably the most recent addition to her Palm Pilot. As for cancer drug developer, I'm sure she wishes she'd never met one.)

5. Which of the following is true of former Tyco CEO Dennis Kozlowski?
A: In 2002 he was arrested and charged with evading millions of dollars in taxes on art purchases he'd made.
B: In 2002 he was invited to be Florida Atlantic University's Business Leader of the Year.
(Answer: They're *both* true. And in a speech to the graduating class at St. Anselm's College in New Hampshire, also in 2002, he said, "You will be confronted with questions every day that test your morals. Think carefully, and for your sake, do the right thing, not the easy thing.")

6. Which of the following are actual suggestions made by former WorldCom CEO Bernie Ebbers to save money at the company's headquarters?
A: Lower the thermostats.
B: Let office plants die to save on water.
C: Count coffee bags to make sure they aren't stolen.
D: Switch to AT&T for long-distance service.
(Answer: A, B and C. It is not true that Ebbers asked employees to snuggle by the space heaters on especially cold days to stay warm.)

7. Why did John Rigas refuse to carry porn films on his cable systems?
A: It offended his sense of morality.
B: Securing broadcast rights was too convoluted.
C: He was reserving the channel space for family programming.
(Answer: A. Pocketing $3.1 billion from Adelphia shareholders, however, didn't weigh on his conscience one bit.)

8. True or false? According to *USA Today*, 82 percent of 401 high-ranking corporate executives admit to being less than honest on the golf course.
(Answer: True. And the other 18 percent were probably lying to the person taking the poll.)

9. What percentage of the Fortune 1000 is managed by female CEOs?
A: 5 percent.
B: 9 percent.
C: 1 percent.
(Answer: C. There are only eleven female CEOs. And none of them have been indicted in the recent spate of accounting scandals.)

10. Which of the following events did Sunbeam's "Chainsaw" Al Dunlap not attend?
A: A single Sunbeam board meeting.
B: The funerals of his parents.
C: His own colonoscopy.
(Answer: B. The story that Dunlap forced a junior Sunbeam manager to have his colonoscopy for him because he was too busy firing people seems to be just a rumor.) —A.H.

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companies listed on the Big Board, which will have two years to comply. Companies that fail to do so face the daunting prospect of a slap on the wrist—a letter of reprimand from the NYSE.

§ *Drastically overhaul current accounting standards.* Warren Buffett, Alan Greenspan and Henry Paulson (CEO of Goldman Sachs), among others, have argued that the current accounting standards are—in Paulson's words—"ripe for manipulation" and need to be overhauled. But no such overhaul is being proposed in Congress.

§ *Outlaw accounting gimmicks that make it impossible for the public to have an accurate picture of a company's financial health.* To this day, Senator (and former Goldman Sachs CEO) Jon Corzine continues to defend what he calls his former company's "aggressive tax policy," including the liberal use of securities known as MIPs, which manage to show up as debt on a company's tax return but equity on its balance sheet. "Lawyers said it was right," he explains. "Accountants said it was right.... And the courts said it was right." In other words, shut up and pass the New Economy Kool-Aid.

§ *Institute real pension reform.* Even though the savage impact on ordinary Americans' pensions has been one of the harshest consequences of the corporate scandals, no pension reform has been signed into law. The crisis in retirement security is such that half of all Americans have no pension plan at all, and half of those who do will now have to put off retirement because of stock-market losses. There is also a blatant injustice in the way companies provide pension plans, disproportionately benefiting their top executives.

§ *Institute some basic lobbying reform.* Begin by reinstating the mandatory five-year "cooling off" period between the time officials leave a position in the administration and when they can begin lobbying for a related industry. This elementary rule was instituted by President Clinton on the first day of his Administration but rescinded during his last days in office. Also, it should be illegal for family members of legislators to become lobbyists.

§ *Repeal the Financial Modernization Act.* The act, passed in 1999, ended the separation of commercial and investment banking functions that had been instituted during the New Deal to protect the public from the kinds of fraud and deception that have been rampant in the past few years.

§ *Stop the Bankruptcy Reform Act from becoming law.* The bankruptcy act would not only significantly add to the burden of consumers struggling to rebuild their lives amid tough economic times; it also contains a provision that loosens some crucial conflict-of-interest restrictions. The exploitation of the bankruptcy bill shows beyond any doubt that even in the middle of all the public clamor to clean up the Augean stables of corporate America, there is a whole industry working overtime to shovel sackfuls of manure in even as we are taking a few teaspoons out.

§ *End the ability of mutual funds to administer 401(k) plans and other employee-benefit services for companies in which they hold substantial positions.* The seventy-five largest mutual fund companies control 44 percent of the voting power at US companies. So there are enormous consequences for all of us when owners elect not to act like owners but like timorous lackeys desperate to please management. As owners of huge amounts of stock, it is their job to hold incompetent or self-interested management accountable. But there are massive fees coming their way when corporate executives award them 401(k) and pension-fund assets to invest. For instance, the nation's largest mutual fund, Fidelity, which owns 5.3 percent of Tyco's stock, also earned $2 million in 1999 for its part in running Tyco's 401(k) plans.

The revelations of infectious greed have the potential to ignite an explosion of populist outrage. The question is: Who will light the fuse? Will it be, say, a younger, charismatic Ralph Nader? A Ross Perot without the corporate baggage or bats in the belfry? A real-life version of Jimmy Stewart's Jefferson Smith, who arrives on the scene funded by $1 donations from paperboys and soda jerks or, these days, video store clerks and cubicle drones? My guess is none of the above. Instead, it will be a critical mass of individuals and groups mobilized by the injustice given flesh and blood by the current scandals.

Beneath the media radar, people are organizing across the country—from established organizations engaging in grassroots work like Public Citizen, Common Cause, Global Exchange, the Center for Public Integrity, the Pension Rights Center, Workingassetsradio.com and United for a Fair Economy, to newer groups like Citizen Works and Junction-City.com, to Jim Hightower's traveling road show, "The Rolling Thunder Down-Home Democracy Tour." And there's a lot happening at the local and state levels. Last July, for example, California State Treasurer Phil Angelides released a list of twenty-three companies—including Tyco and Ingersoll-Rand—the state has blacklisted because of their use of offshore tax havens.

The government needs to reward socially conscious companies with tax credits, incentives and subsidies while levying higher taxes on polluting and wasteful companies. The business press needs to stop running adulatory cover stories on America's most cutthroat CEOs and replace them with glowing profiles of the most forward-thinking ones. And, most important, the public has to keep the heat on, recognizing that corporations' anti-social behavior couldn't have flourished in a vacuum. During the 1990s it was as if denial had replaced baseball as the national pastime. We buried our heads in the sand—unwilling to question the integrity of the bulls rushing down Wall Street for fear it might jeopardize the 30 percent rate of return we had come to see as our birthright. And the buoyant pronouncements of our political leaders only served to hammer home the communal delusion that the party would go on forever. This shared denial provided convenient camouflage for corrupt CEOs. In America, we keep score with money and the trappings of wealth—so the psychopaths fit right in. They were nothing more than the winners of a game we all wanted to play—a game that we knew rewarded certain aberrant tendencies.

So, as well as prosecuting all the crimes these Wall Street wolf boys committed, and instituting all the major reforms needed, we should take the opportunity as a culture to lie down on the couch and see what it was in our collective unconscious that created these nightmares. But only for a little while. Because we have work to do. We were told again and again during the 1990s that our unprecedented prosperity was fueled by consumer spending. Well, the time has come for the shoppers to leave the malls and take to the streets—to go from invigorating our economy to reinvigorating our democracy. ■

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that several states, including Texas, will require that our 2004 nominees for President and Vice President be bona fide Greens.

Ralph Nader is not currently a member of the Green Party. He and his staffers have not been active between presidential elections in helping the Green Party in Texas grow. Nader ran as an Independent in 1996 and 2000, and has already said publicly that rather than join the Green Party, he will run again as an Independent in 2004. JANE W. ELIOSEFF
Green Party of Texas

San Francisco
■ Ronnie Dugger's misplaced angst assigns responsibility to the candidate but not the party. In 2000 a determined Nader and the Greens raised and spent more than $8 million and achieved less than 3 percent of the national vote. In a 1996 symbolic race, Green candidate Nader spent $5,000 and achieved less than 1 percent of the vote. The Nader factor has been tested, and whether he runs again or not is not as critical as knowing that whoever the Green presidential candidate is in '04, whether he/she is catatonic or driven, will likely garner enough votes to upset the success of any lackluster Democratic contender. And as the midterm elections show, the Dems proved that Bush is poised to win re-election. The Dems have little choice but to regroup with the left or step aside, while the Greens need to establish a proper diagnostic that weighs the consequences of running a national campaign in the name of building our party. ROSS MIRKARIMI
State director, California Nader 2000

New York City
■ Although I am a Green Party member and was a City Council candidate in New York City in 2001, unlike many Democrats but like many Greens, I'm not a party loyalist.

If the 2004 Democratic presidential and vice presidential candidate commit to instant-runoff voting, universal healthcare, a foreign policy built on the economic well-being of the poor and middle class here and abroad; if they stop supporting pro-war, pro–corporate power and antidemocratic legislation; if, instead of using their considerable ingenuity for raising money by sucking up to wealthy moneybags while pretending they care about the "little people," they use it to address and respond to the barriers to meaningful participation in our democratic form of government; in short, if the Democrats become Greens, they've got my vote.

How can they make this common-sense, common-cause, common-folk agenda a winning one for 2004? It will be tough, but that's supposed to be why they make six figures a year. They'll have to make a commitment to making citizenship, as opposed to consuming and producing goods and services, central to our political economy. They'll have to address the following: (1) US citizens are the most overworked and underpaid of any work force in an advanced capitalist country; (2) we are also the least well educated; (3) we are the most manipulated by elections, based on money and advertisement as opposed to ideas and values.

Such systemic barriers result not only in a majority of Americans being unwilling to vote but also in elections determined by a cheapened "discourse" that occludes real issues and avoids real change. If our current framework for providing an education and work results in a reactionary or an apathetic public, that framework must be changed. Only an informed citizenry can challenge the worldwide imperial interventions begun by Clinton and expanded by the Bush Administration through its shameless military policy of "anticipatory self-defense" (which most Democrats have not challenged). ROBERT JERESKI

San Francisco
■ Ronnie Dugger renews the old debate from 2000: to Ralph, or not to Ralph. While we won't have instant-runoff voting by 2004, which would free voters to vote for the candidate they really like, there is still a temporary solution. In the 2000 presidential election, forty or so of the states were completely locked up for one political party or the other. This included some of our biggest states, like Texas, California and New York. The election really boiled down to just a few battleground states—Florida, Pennsylvania, Michigan, etc. Moreover, most states were completely predictable; in fact the Center for Voting and Democracy announced winners months in advance. That means that in just about every state it was a *free* vote to vote Nader.

These sorts of regional demographics are becoming hard-wired into our politics. The 2004 election is shaping up pretty much the same way. Progressive Democrats and Greens in the vast majority of states will be free to vote for the candidate they wish. Only in ten or so states will it matter that they choose the Democrat.

While this is a sad comment on the numbing trajectory of our "winner take all" electoral system, it also opens up certain possibilities for the Democrats and Greens to coordinate campaigns, helping the Green candidate maximize votes in noncompetitive states and minimize them in battleground states. Are Democrats and Greens ready to promote this? Or will they stay locked in destructive, internecine and needless combat? STEVEN HILL
Center for Voting and Democracy

Washington, DC
■ The Democratic Party has only a few things worth salvaging, things the Greens don't have and will not have anytime soon: (1) electoral credibility: The fact is, the large majority of the population will not vote for a Green Party member, regardless of political alignment, but might be willing to vote Democrat; (2) infrastructure: the Greens have neither the party infrastructure nor the financial wherewithal to compete in a national election, McCain/Feingold notwithstanding; (3) Jesse Jackson Jr., Russ Feingold and the few other dedicated progressives remaining in the party.

These *are* worth preserving, but at what cost? Unlike Dugger, I believe that each person does, in fact, have "the right" to decide whether he or she wishes to choose the "moral victory" over the very hollow victory of defeating Bush in the next election and replacing him with an uninspired, unprincipled creature of the Democrats' big campaign contributors.

Before writing off the Democratic Party for good, it is our responsibility to make our voice heard; to try to take over the infrastructure, as Dugger points out. But if the voices of pro-market "centrists" like Joseph Lieberman and Tom Daschle drown us out, I am prepared to "throw away" another vote.
DANIEL R. SOMERFIELD

Wayland, Mass.
■ Ronnie Dugger is right that progressives need to support the Democratic Party. The party, both locally and nationally, is adrift and rudderless, but it's not just the party. Many Americans are uncertain where they stand right now on a host of issues, ranging from national security policy to civil liberties. The Republicans, with their simple "tough guy" nationalistic and increasingly militaristic views, are winning a lot of hearts and minds. Building a radical-moderate coalition propelled by progressive ideas is exactly what the Democrats succeeded in doing from FDR's time until the Vietnam War caused a debilitating split in the Democrats' left-liberal coalition.

Progressives and progressive Democrats have a vital role to play in bringing a new, principled politics back to the Democratic Party. The new antiwar, environmental and globalization activisms on campuses and elsewhere are good signs for our chances of reviving the party. This doesn't mean that progressives will become the party but that these movements and these voters must once again become important and essential coalition partners with a moderate/liberal Democratic Party leadership that can depose the conservative Blue Dog Democrats, who have gained control of the party, and restore it as a progressive force in politics. JON SAXTON

Denver
■ Why is it Ralph Nader's responsibility to rescue the Democratic Party by not running? If the Democrats stopped acting like GOP Lite and mounted a solid opposition, they wouldn't have to worry about Nader and the Greens. It's time for the Democratic Party to take responsibility for its plight and stop griping about the Greens. Nader would not have so much support, after all, if not for the feckless Democrats, who are too afraid to point out the extremes of "a

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popular President" and stake out a viable alternative. Clinton's popularity didn't stop conservatives and Bush's shouldn't scare the Dems.

Griping about Nader merely distracts Democrats from the real task at hand: taking a stand that would make Nader irrelevant because his supporters would be brought back into the fold.

BLAKE THOMPSON

DUGGER REPLIES

Somerville, Mass.

■ I learned a great deal from the 500 or so letters and e-mails that *The Nation* and I have received on my essay. I've answered about half of them and am continuing to reply to the rest.

Perhaps the most succinct one said only, "You, sir, have shit for brains!" although it was topped for malice, in tune with the times, by another that said my computer should be confiscated and my lips sewn shut. In an e-mail riptide, Democrats' bitterness against the spoiler Greens churns up against Greens' bitterness against the spoiled Democrats. Many responding agreed that Nader should not run again. Many would not acknowledge that the more votes cast for Nader in 2004, the likelier will be Bush's election and the consolidation of the United States into a garrison state committed to bullying the world in a series of aggressive wars. A number of Greens agree with me that building the Green Party is not the same as running Ralph for President and that Ralph should not run again. On the other hand, Blair Zarubick's implied suggestion that if Nader is not going to run he should not be in any hurry to say so, is a good point.

Many correspondents took it as a truism that a progressive can't be nominated by the Democrats and can't win the presidency. This is precisely the message the mass media have been imprinting on the mass mind they are creating. The realities—that a people are dynamic, not a static geological formation; that a gifted progressive candidate can electrify and transform a presidential election; that we are a people begging to be inspired—are all but snuffed out in the messages I received that, I believe, reflected this new kind of "internal oppression."

Kirstin Marr misrepresents my article by saying that I asked the Green Party "to step down." I asked Ralph not to run for President as a Green, but I urged Greens to continue to run vigorously in local and state contests and asked Nader to run for governor or senator. Marr's or the Greens' National Media Committee's only other comment on whether Nader should run again is oblique: "Asking citizens to limit their political choices is profoundly undemocratic." That is nonsense, since citizens talking politics with one another is profoundly democratic.

Steven Hill reminds us that because of the Electoral College, progressives voting in the forty-odd states that are safe for one of the two major-party candidates could in 2000 and might again in 2004 vote safely for Nader without affecting the outcome. However, despite a major effort to sell just that tactic in 2000, at the campaign's end Nader deliberately campaigned in swing states, including Florida, during the final weekend. It's a bright idea, but there's no way to insure that it's followed where it counts.

To Daniel Somerfield and others who picked up on a point he raised, I proffer an apology. Closing my piece, I had written, "But in my opinion, we should not be for Nader knowing that it will help elect Bush. We no longer have the right." In the last stage of editing, "in my opinion," was cut and I failed to notice it. While expressing my opinion that we do not have the right to dominate the world and take the lives of innocent civilians abroad in aggressive wars by helping to elect Bush, I, of course, agree that others have the right to disagree.

In the letters from Somerfield, Ross Mirkarimi, Robert Jereski, Jon Saxton and Blake Thompson, I believe the gong of truth resounds—that it is really the Democrats who can save the situation by shaking off the defeatist attitudes in the mass media about progressive candidates, by inviting Greens back and warmly welcoming them, by overtly repudiating "the Bush doctrine," by fighting outright for national health insurance, peace, public funding of elections, instant-runoff voting—only the Democrats can save the country from four more years of this nation's first police-state warfare junta. Ralph can help by not running, and Greens can help by being open to voting Democratic for President if the Democrats nominate someone worth progressive support. But if the Democrats in Boston, again, in dead-hearted subordination to the big-money corporations, nominate the likes of Joe Lieberman or John Edwards or Bob Graham—why then, when the history of the failure of American democracy is written, it is the Democratic Party that will bear the blame and the shame.

So what do we do now? A caucus named "Wellstone Democrats" should form; Rich McHugh of Michigan (rmchugh@nelp.org) says he "could help with the incorporation" of Wellstone Democratic clubs. In Texas, according to Stan Merriman (sfm@airmail.net), a progressive populist caucus of several hundred in the Democratic Party (www.texaspopulists.com) is organizing to replace the state party chair and the county chairs in Houston and San Antonio. Martha Ture of California (marthature@earthlink.net) proposes Senator Barbara Boxer for President. There should be, pronto, a national meeting of progressive Democrats to organize for 2004. A progressive platform group, taking some cues from the Greens' platform and guiding ten values, should make plans to infuse the Democrats' 2004 platform with the people's needs and values; Ture and friends have a draft. Perhaps Senator Edward Kennedy would agree to shepherd such a progressive platform group into the convention in Boston. The pre-announced Democratic field of possible presidential candidates must be augmented by at least one inspiring progressive: Dennis Kucinich, Russell Feingold, Barbara Boxer?—you say who—or Howard Dean might so emerge.

Permit me here also to respond to Alexander Cockburn's January 13/20 column, which misrepresented my position on the Democratic 2004 nomination for President, conjecturally and mistakenly attributing to me a preference for Gore. When Nader asked me last June what I'd do if Gore was the nominee, in a burst of hyperbole I replied that in that case the country was lost and I'd commit suicide. Then Cockburn, mistakenly or correctly for all I or anybody but Gore himself knows, attributed Gore's decision not to run to some columnist's observation that the big money was turning away from him because of his recent forays into populism. Finally Cockburn asserted that with Gore not running there is no hope for the Democrats in 2004, and he asked, "So where does that leave Ronnie Dugger?"

Let's see now, Alexander. You misrepresent me on Gore. You make the fate of the country hang on Gore's decision—which it doesn't. You allege without knowing it that the fat cats deterred Gore from running and conclude, therefore, that there's no hope with the Democrats. We can't elect Nader in 2004, either, so it follows, does it not, that Bush wins in 2004. And where does that leave Alexander Cockburn?

RONNIE DUGGER

COCKBURN REPLIES

Petrolia, Calif.

■ I didn't say Dugger preferred Gore as the nominee in 2004, but that he assumed he would be. If this was not the case, I apologize for making the inference. Dugger's ensuing observations have no relation to what I wrote, which bore on the question of why Gore suddenly stood down. My conclusion was that Gore's opposition to war on Iraq along with his swerve toward a leftish posture on the economy and healthcare prompted his usual big-money promoters to advise him to bag any run for the nomination.

I added that since it looks as though no anti-war, leftish candidate stands the slightest chance of attracting the money required to win the nomination, the Democratic Party has now become absolutely inhospitable to any candidate left enough to win back the defectors who went to Nader and the Greens in 2000. If Dugger wants to argue that there's still a chance the Democrats can nominate a progressive candidate that's his privilege, but I don't think he should be too optimistic about the outcome.

ALEXANDER COCKBURN

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COMMENT

(Continued From Page 7)

The Bush Administration regularly warns Americans of the certainty of a major attack inside the United States. But this is used as an argument to persuade us that we need to bomb Iraq. The Bush team has yet to acknowledge that our military escalation could result in increased civilian deaths right here at home. (Of course, we cannot forget that Iraqi civilians would suffer the most from this war, with the number of likely Iraqi direct and indirect victims estimated at 1.4 million by the United Nations.)

As the United States deploys its massive military apparatus in the gulf area, there are several reasons to expect that terrorist attacks in response to the possible war on Iraq would be principally directed outside the region: (1) the increasingly decentralized and world-spanning networks of organized terrorism; (2) the extreme asymmetry between the matériel of terrorist organizations and that of US military forces in the gulf area; (3) the relatively greater ease of urban attacks in terms of both organization and execution, especially in large cities; and (4) the high visibility of urban attacks—an instantaneous global media event. What had been a dyad of military against military with civilian losses as "collateral damage" would become a triangulation with the civilian populations as a key target.

Could it be that using the $50 billion to $200 billion we would have to spend on a war on Iraq for projects other than war might be more effective? Could it be, for instance, that building infrastructure, developing health services and other public projects that create employment might be more effective in reducing the anger and despair that might be leading small but growing numbers of the young to commit terrorist acts? We could choose to use our superior technical resources to pursue what is ultimately a very small group of active terrorists rather than bomb a country that our own military tells us is not really the biggest threat right now and has indeed been contained. Wouldn't that make the world a safer place for us and our allies?

SASKIA SASSEN

Saskia Sassen of the University of Chicago is the author of Global Networks, Linked Cities *(Routledge).*

Letter From Iraq

The Chicago-based group Voices in the Wilderness, which in the past has delivered medical aid to Iraq, has formed an Iraqi Peace Team composed of dozens of nonviolent antiwar activists maintaining an ongoing presence in Iraq. If war comes they will report from Iraq on its impact on civilians. The following account is by Elizabeth Roberts, now in the country (for more information see www.iraqpeaceteam.org).

Baghdad

I asked Fatima, a mother with nine children, all living with her husband and her sister in three rooms, "How are you preparing for the war?" She replies, "Oh, there is not much we can do. We have a few extra liters of kerosene for our stove and we buried some gasoline in the yard if we need to leave Baghdad. We are just waiting and hoping America will turn away from this war."

Amal, an educated middle-class woman, lives near a bridge over the Tigris River. Her house was hit by a bomb in 1991. I asked if she had a bomb shelter. "No, bomb shelters are no good—we will just sit together in a room so if something happens we will all go together." Her daughter reminds me of the Aamayria air-raid shelter in Baghdad, which was hit by a US missile in the Gulf War, killing 415 mothers and young children. Now there is the general suspicion that the United States will deliberately target bomb shelters, so few people plan to use them.

Staff members of a school we visit regularly are preparing the children for the coming war by shooting a rifle in the air when the national flag is raised, so the children get used to the sound of explosions.

The government distributed a combined November and December food ration, urging people to save any surplus. But many people either ate the extra food or sold the ration for much-needed cash. A representative of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization told us that if there is a war, many Iraqis will face severe shortages of food and water.

There is no sign of preparation for war on the streets here. Outside my window the roads are filled with cars and people. Gasoline is about 5 cents a gallon. The sidewalks are in bad repair, the stores are humble and dusty, and the items for sale are minimal. The place feels tired. Iraq was nearing First World status at the time of the Gulf War—now it is clearly Third World and struggling.

A few days ago we visited the UN Office of the Humanitarian Coordinator in Iraq. The director there told us, "Sanctions paralyze every single aspect of Iraqi society." There isn't enough of anything—food, clean water, ambulances, medicines, doctors, teachers, tractors.

I had read about the deadly effects on Iraqis of the sanctions before coming here, but seeing them with my own eyes is a shock. I feel the imminent war inside me too. Our team meets almost every night to discuss scenarios for our response to an air attack, a ground attack or a coup. Feelings are strong and diverse. I feel afraid of being useless. But perhaps the service is simply to be here, to share in the suffering of a people attacked by my country.

Every morning I go to work at an orphanage run by the Missionary Sisters of Charity of Mother Teresa. There are about twenty little boys and girls with severe cerebral palsy. Only two can speak a little and some cannot even raise their head. But they all have shining eyes and beautiful smiles. I spend three hours holding them, massaging them, singing and playing. Their gaze never leaves my face. They squirm across the floor to put their head in my lap. This is the only time I am not ambivalent. I belong here. I feed them and clean them. They stay focused on my face. This smile is all they want. Toys come and go but the face of a smiling adult is their heaven.

ELIZABETH ROBERTS

Elizabeth Roberts, a 58-year-old former university professor and mother of four grown children, has, with her husband, devoted her life to peace work.

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Was It Sexy, or Just Soviet?

The Post-Communist Expat Safari Novel Has Its Day

ELIOT BORENSTEIN

Given the number of prematurely world-weary young men and women who followed the lure of easy money, cheap alcohol and even cheaper sex to the geopolitical discount bins of the former Soviet Union and Eastern bloc, it only stands to reason that this particular "lost generation" has begun to memorialize itself on and off the best-seller lists. The past two years have seen a veritable boom in fictional accounts of the experience of North American expatriates in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Russia and Ukraine. The authors are all varying shades of young; at 30, if the Russian-born Gary Shteyngart had never left home, he would only recently have been excluded from the Young Communist League's generous definition of "youth." With the exception of Jonathan Franzen, all of these authors have turned their experiences into fodder for unabashedly autobiographical first novels (all subtitled "A Novel," presumably to set the reader straight). Yet their tone is doubly elegiac, a look back at lost youth in lost lands. A decade after the USSR's surprisingly peaceful demise, six men look back on their emergence into adulthood in a world that briefly promised to be their perfect playground.

It's hard to say what is more surprising about this crop of post-Communist safari novels: that there are so many of them (six!) or so few (only six?). To the extent that the average expat could be said to have had a clearly defined goal, if a young North American man in the former Warsaw Pact countries was not trying to make a killing as a cross between a missionary and a venture capitalist (a hybrid that was unimaginable before the 1990s), he was secretly hoping to turn these bleak industrial landscapes into literary gold mines. Purely as a matter of statistics, one could expect at least this many novels to emerge from the expat experience, like the proverbial infinite number of monkeys eventually typing their way toward Shakespearean sonnets. But there was no reason to expect that so many of them would be so good.

A cursory look at the names of these authors immediately leads to a nagging question: Where are the women? Why is it that the expat experience ends up represented as so fundamentally masculine? North American women did travel to Eastern Europe in the 1990s, working roughly the same jobs as the men. And such women figure prominently in the two novels most directly preoccupied with expat life (*Prague* and *The Winter Zoo*), and in *The Russian Debutante's Handbook*. Yet the expat voice comes across best in a feckless, frat-boy baritone (for an "authentic" example from the time, see *the eXile*, an anthology from the Russian expat newspaper of the same name). If the tale of young American men wandering throughout Old Europe is familiar and predictable, a heroine's story is certainly no harder to imagine. But where are the accounts of naïve young women seduced by the suave, if oily, charms of Eastern European sophisticates? They can be found, but only in novels written by men.

There is a certain logic to this: Ultimately, the post-Communist expat's story is a fundamentally male narrative of conquest, submission and coming of age. The expat experience was a perfect juncture between self-congratulatory Western machismo and the cultural anxieties of the cold war's losers and victims. One of the commonplaces of the post-Soviet media, for example, is that Russia (always represented as female) has fallen prey to Western despoilers, who ravage the country's national resources, corrupt the morals of innocent youth and turn its women into a valuable commodity for export. It is remarkable how much the heroes of these North American novels resemble their de-

Eliot Borenstein is chair of Russian & Slavic Studies at New York University.

IN THIS ESSAY

THE CORRECTIONS.
By Jonathan Franzen.
Farrar, Straus & Giroux.
566 pp. Paper $15.

EVERYTHING IS ILLUMINATED: A Novel.
By Jonathan Safran Foer.
Houghton Mifflin.
276 pp. $24.

LEAVING KATYA: A Novel.
By Paul Greenberg.
Putnam.
247 pp. $24.95.

PRAGUE: A Novel.
By Arthur Phillips.
Random House.
367 pp. $24.95.

THE RUSSIAN DEBUTANTE'S HANDBOOK: A Novel.
By Gary Shteyngart.
Riverhead.
452 pp. $24.95.

THE WINTER ZOO: A Novel.
By John Beckman.
Henry Holt.
348 pp. $25.

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piction in the imaginings of the post-Communist "natives" themselves. Though they may not be as nakedly cynical as the Western villains of post-Soviet potboilers, these young men are indulging in the very activities that define their caricatured counterparts: drinking, pillaging and whoring.

Indeed, sex and drunken debauchery are these characters' primary means of getting to know their surroundings (Milan Kundera clearly has a lot to answer for). Note the randomness that motivates the protagonists of nearly all of these novels: With the exception of the hero of *Leaving Katya*, none of these men have any particular reason to choose the country they visit. These are not stories about immersing oneself in a beloved foreign culture; such supporting characters can be found in *The Winter Zoo* and *The Russian Debutante's Handbook*, and they are female. Instead, the heroes are like typical college students on study-abroad programs, roaming thousands of miles on a journey of self-discovery. Travel may broaden the mind, but it narrows the vision, facilitating an obsessive, adolescent-narrative navel-gazing.

For the men, much of their knowledge of the host country is carnal. Franzen's *The Corrections*, in which Chip Lambert's time in Lithuania is a brief stopover as he claws his way out of a checkered, foundering career, is both the most casual and the most sophisticated when it comes to sex tourism. Twice a week he goes to an expensive club for a massage, sauna and sex with women who "led daytime lives that revolved around child care, or parent care, or the university's International Journalism program, or the making of art in political hues that nobody would buy." Franzen's description of post-Communist Lithuanian life is so casually reductive that it makes its point without even a whiff of moralizing: "All in all, he found Vilnius a lovely world of braised beef and cabbage and potato pancakes, of beer and vodka and tobacco, of comradeship, subversive enterprise, and pussy." This brief exploration of expat sexual encounters is, like the entire Lithuanian episode, deployed as part of the novel's vast arsenal of evidence of the more insidious effects of globalization, which itself often resembles the tangled love-hate relationships in the novel's central dysfunctional family more than any kind of international capitalist conspiracy. His breezy sendup of the expat experience, complete with an Internet scam to defraud Western investors interested in a privatized Lithuanian democratic party and gravel futures, is only enhanced by the fact that Chip has come to Lithuania to escape from his life as a perennial American loser. Sex with the natives is simply a standard perk that comes with the job.

The most egregious example of the treatment of the host country as sex object is Greenberg's *Leaving Katya*. Daniel, the novel's protagonist, only truly becomes an expatriate when running back to the Motherland to escape his shrewish Russian wife in New York. The novel begins with a wonderful passage about the "parallel universe" of Katya's industrial-strength underwear, which makes him pose the question that he will spend the rest of the novel trying to answer: "Was this sexy, or just Soviet?" Unfortunately, their encounter becomes so burdened with heavy-handed symbolism that no hydraulic undergarment could possibly support it. Daniel mounts Katya underneath a poster showing a tanker that "passed backward and forward across the Finnish Gulf between Helsinki and Leningrad." In case the reader misses the point, Daniel is struck by a "nonsense thought—that I was now as far inside the Soviet Union as I had ever been."

Sex and drunken debauchery are the characters' primary means of knowing their surroundings—Kundera has a lot to answer for.

Daniel ends up bringing Katya to New York and marrying her, much to the horror of his family, who had never thought his "Russia phase" would go so far (couldn't he have just brought home one of those stacking dolls and a furry hat?). From this point on, Daniel is preoccupied with solving two riddles, one involving Katya (what is she really thinking?) and the other revolving around himself (is Katya right in saying that he has a "weak character"?). Some of the most insightful passages in this novel, whose autobiographical roots are laid bare on the book's promotional website, come from the mouths of the Russian characters, most notably the proverbial older, wiser woman Daniel meets in Novosibirsk (who deflates the myth of Katya by saying "she's a little Communist bitch") and Katya herself, who finally explains some of her motivations in the book's closing pages. Ultimately, the novel's success or failure is a function of the distance between author and character: Is Daniel's cluelessness the clever device of a now-wiser author, or is it a set of sincere observations to be taken at face value?

Such confusion between author and hero is openly courted by Jonathan Safran Foer in *Everything Is Illuminated*, which features the Ukrainian travels of a young American named Jonathan Safran Foer. Simply giving the character the same name as his author dispenses with the usual ventriloquism of first novels, in favor of post-modern coyness. But Foer the character does not create the same kind of vortex of solipsism as Greenberg's fictional stand-in, perhaps because "Foer" is a marginal presence in comparison with the novel's star: the young Ukrainian amateur translator and tour guide, Alexander Perchov.

Though *Everything Is Illuminated* features another narrative line (a fictional account of Foer's ancestors), it is Alex who steals the show. In the best traditions of Gogol and Zoshchenko, Foer has created a narrator whose command of the language is idiosyncratic at best: Largely self-taught, Alex writes as if he has made a thorough study of Roget's Thesaurus and resolved to treat all the secondary definitions as primary. The novel's much-quoted beginning makes this strategy abundantly clear: "My legal name is Alexander Perchov. But all my many friends dub me Alex, because that is a more flaccid-to-utter version of my legal name. Mother dubs me Alexi-stop-spleening me!, because I am always spleening her. ... it is because I am always elsewhere with friends, and disseminating so much currency, and performing so many things that can spleen a mother." Foer has been praised for his ingenious wordplay, but even a few paragraphs of this "funny foreigner" routine can grow tiresome, recalling not so much Gogol or Sholom Aleichem as Balki from the 1980s sitcom *Perfect Strangers*.

It would be too easy to take Foer to task for the fact that no one would write like this, that Alex's grammar is too perfect for someone so prone to malapropisms, that his mistakes have nothing in common with Slavic syntax or that Ukrainians and Russians would find the phrase "seeing-eye bitch" funny for roughly the same reasons we do. The bigger problem is that Foer, in a novel whose plot is rooted in the Holocaust, is giving us natives who are so cute and quaint that they would make good plastic prizes for an *Everything Is Illuminated* Happy Meal tie-in. These caveats aside, Foer does use Alex's and his eternally grumpy grandfather's perspectives to deflate the image of the American visitor, referred to early on as "a very spoiled Jew." Strictly speaking, *Everything Is Illuminated* is a sort of farce on the expat novel, since

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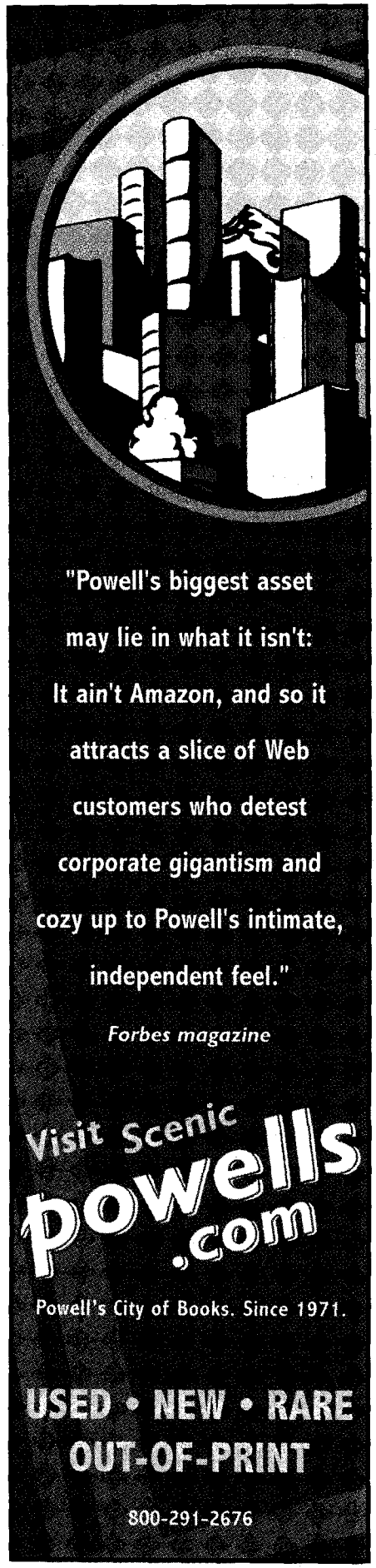
Foer makes but a relatively brief visit to Ukraine before returning to New York. The novel pokes fun instead at a different kind of post-Communist safari: the inevitably doomed search for one's roots in a now-vanished Old Country. Foer the character is obliged to create a family saga for himself that his ancestral home staunchly refuses to provide. And he also inadvertently makes some surprising discoveries about his own family's connection to his Ukrainian hosts. But ultimately, *Everything Is Illuminated* perpetuates an old expatriate pattern: Ukraine serves as the backdrop for an American's journey of self-discovery.

In *The Winter Zoo*, John Beckman overcomes this cliché of American self-absorption and self-discovery precisely by reveling in it: No one could be more unwilling to take responsibility for his own actions than Gurney, the novel's main character. Or at least not at the sacrifice of charm and appeal. Leave it to others to avoid such minor features of adulthood as jobs and career: Gurney is running away from nothing less than fatherhood. Given that the novel begins with his abandonment of a newborn daughter in Iowa to pursue an incestuous attraction to his cousin Jane in Krakow, *The Winter Zoo* seems to be challenging the reader to like Gurney. Yet like him we do, and it is a testament to Beckman's talent. Gurney's attractiveness would be impossible to maintain if he were the narrator, or if the point of view remained claustrophobically centered on him. Instead, we see Gurney more as the object of other characters' desire—not just his cousin's but also the native Poles'. With his cornfed bulk, winning smile and air of naïveté, Gurney is Iowa incarnate, and also a Nabokov fantasy twisted through the looking glass: a six-foot, twentysomething Lolita who fascinates the local, underage Humberts. Beckman's reversal of the classic seduction plot reaches its peak at the end of the novel, when, during an international orgy facilitated by large amounts of ill-gotten cash and even larger doses of Ecstasy, Gurney has a homosexual encounter with a teen-age Krakovian. To paraphrase Greenberg, this was probably as far inside America as the Pole would ever get.

Gurney's aimless life in Krakow, a city about which he knows nothing, with a language he never attempts to master, provides a complex view of the ethics of any sort of expatriate involvement in the labyrinth of post-Communist Poland. The fact that he spends most of the novel lusting after his cousin is a tidy symbol of life in the expat bubble, which is nothing if not incestuous. Throughout the novel, Gurney is implicitly contrasted with Dick Chestnutt, an expat of twenty years' standing, who has attained a kind of rootedness in this rootless community while always remaining an outcast. When he was younger, his antics were charming, but as he got older, his combination of public protest and literal exhibitionism, and his predatory relations with the young girls he tutored in English and on the guitar, lost much of their appeal. Chestnutt is the lecherous grandpa to his fellow expats, expressing wisdom that is dead-on despite his unsavory character. ("Boredom spreads in direct proportion to the influx of young Americans.") Gurney only skims the surface of Polish life (even Auschwitz leaves him unmoved), while Chestnutt gets dangerously involved. Ultimately, Gurney leaves Krakow and survives; Chestnutt is buried there.

Beckman gives Gurney the perfect job for an American who has decided to try his luck in colder climes: working the roulette table at the local casino. The casino exemplifies the new economy at its most problematic: It is a joint venture funded by less-than-scrupulous Western capitalists and by Zbigniew Zamoyski, a former Communist who forever complains about the harmful influence of Western culture on Poland (not so incidentally, he is also the ex-lover of Gurney's cousin, the estranged husband of their landlady and the murderer of Dick Chestnutt). The novel's plot recapitulates Poland's troubled attitude toward money and profit: Gurney's friend Jackie wins a small fortune at his roulette table, an event that eventually pushes Gurney to leave the country for fear of reprisals from the casino's managers. The expat often comes to Eastern Europe for easy money, yet this particular windfall becomes a very large pile of bad pennies: No one seems to want it, and it is almost impossible to give it away. Jackie gives most of it to Gurney, Gurney sends the rest back to the mother of his infant daughter, and she sends most of it back to Krakow, unaware that Gurney is long gone. The money ends up in the hands of the teenage Wanda, Zamoyski's daughter, who once had a crush on Gurney, but even she is reluctant to spend it: "It had a wonderful effect when she simply ignored it; it gave her the ferocious calm of a soldier. But it scared her to death when she remembered it was there." In defiance of the laws of the reintroduced market, this is money that constantly changes hands without ever really circulating: Everyone who gets it only takes what can be justified as necessary or charitable (money for student loans, for instance, or a wild Christmas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party for the city's youth). It can be spent selflessly or communally, or not at all.

The Winter Zoo does an admirable job of bringing together the aimlessness of the American characters with the jaded perspective of their Polish hosts, while continually calling into question the ethics of their interactions, both personal and economic. But the fullest exploration of the expat dilemma in all its messiness is in Arthur Phillips's *Prague*.

Through the choice of his title alone, Phillips announces to his readers that he is one step ahead of the game: *Prague* is a novel set in Budapest, and the plot never strays across Czech borders. The main character, John Price, is nagged by the sense that he has chosen the wrong venue for his European wanderings, that Prague is where the action really is. One suspects that John would be equally restless if he ever actually reached this promised land, but that is precisely the point: The expat life is based on a sense of impermanence and interchangeability. And also on the inevitable leveling of difference brought on by terms such as "Central Europe": Prague and Budapest are virtually indistinguishable from the point of view of venture capitalists and college graduates looking to do the Grand Tour on the cheap. True, the countries have entirely unrelated languages and cultural traditions, but thanks to young Americans' notorious geographical ignorance, these are differences that make no difference. Beckman gives us Central Europe as postadolescent orgy, while Phillips turns it into a party game for overgrown American toddlers—a grab bag full of mysterious toys for would-be adventurers, while for would-be investors and "shock therapists" it is a piñata that will yield a cascade of treats once it is beaten hard enough.

Thus it should come as no surprise that Phillips starts his novel with a game called Sincerity, in which all the players take turns making apparently sincere statements, only one out of four of which is actually true. The object of the game is to deceive one's opponents while simultaneously unmasking their lies; the collateral damage is the wounded pride and hurt feelings of one's fellow players (John says about his estranged brother Scott, also a participant: "Scott is our parents' favorite"). Sincerity is the central issue in Phillips's presentation of the inevitable culture clash between Young America and Old Europe. With the exception of Emily, a Nebraskan who, like Beckman's Gurney, fits the tiresome stereotype of the Midwestern yokel, all the Americans (and one Canadian) who form this particular circle approach the world around them through the near-impervious shield of irony so characteristic of a certain strand of recent American pop culture (*Seinfeld* as opposed to *Touched by an Angel*). They come from a world in which nothing crucial is ever at stake, and now find themselves in a city where the burdens of history are felt on every street corner.

Yet even though nearly all the characters are at times seduced by the romanticism of European suffering and adventure, Prague resists the simple opposition between American cynicism and Eastern European earnestness. The plot revolves around an attempt by Charles Gabor, the Cleveland-born son of Hungarian émigrés seeking his fortune in Budapest despite his contempt for his parents' nostalgic patriotism, to invest in (and ultimately take over) the Horvath Kiado, one of the most venerable publishing houses in Hungary. After 1956 this press split in two, as the heir to the family business, Imre Horvath, set up a German branch to preserve Hungarian culture from Communist philistinism. John uses his society column at BudapesToday, the fictional expat newspaper, to build up a buzz about the press and facilitate the deal.

The takeover of the Horvath Kiado is Western investment at its most cynical, and yet Phillips manages to humanize all the participants so much that it never becomes a straightforward matter of a Western assault on the helpless East. Phillips grants Imre Horvath his share of moral authority for his role in the cultural opposition, but at the same time refuses to make him a dissident hero.

In one of *Prague*'s best passages, Phillips describes Horvath's three and a half years in a Hungarian work camp entirely in the negative: "He did not feel some secret part of himself made strong by his hardship. He did not discreetly receive from one prisoner and pass on to the next a tattered translation of the United States Constitution or Montesquieu's essays on the natural rights of man. He was not warmed by a great and unexpected love for his fellow prisoners." While Horvath's young subordinates fawn all over the great man, Charles Gabor is unimpressed: "Charles felt he had heard this story before, but with different characters. Somebody had saved somebody else from some horrible disaster, but at terrible personal sacrifice.... Was this a movie he'd seen? So familiar...." In a remarkable balancing act, Phillips manages to have it both ways: This particular Western investment, clinched while one of the players seems to be on his deathbed, could hardly be more toxic, yet none of the participants is thoroughly reprehensible or impeccably clean.

Moral clarity is nowhere to be found in these novels; the expatriate experience simply will not provide it. So it makes perfect sense that at least one of the authors would eschew documentary realism in favor of broad humor and biting satire. In *The Russian Debutante's Handbook*, Gary Shteyngart has taken the unassailable position of the humorist. Even as he exposes the absurdities of late capitalism in the United States and too-late capitalism in Eastern Europe, he can never be accused of taking himself too seriously. Shteyngart is not burdened with the challenge of getting the foreign backdrop exactly right, nor is he obliged to create fictional political crises in real European countries, as Franzen does in *The Corrections*. Instead, Shteyngart creates an entire fictional country, the Republic of Stolovaya (Russian for "cafeteria"), whose chic but dilapidated capital, Prava, suggests a neutral territory between Pravda and Prada. Implicitly, Shteyngart recognizes that the romantic haven of free-thinking and free love to which these young Americans flock ("It's the Paris of the 90s!") has always been a fantasy projection, less like *Mitteleuropa* and more like Middle Earth.

The Russian Debutante's Handbook is a story of double expatriation. The hero, Vladimir Girshkin, is a "beta immigrant" from Leningrad, the uneasy product of a Soviet upbringing and a Midwestern liberal arts education. Unable to escape the perpetual taint of the schlemiel, Vladimir toils at a low-paying job in the Emma Lazarus Immigrant Absorption Society before a chain of improbable circumstances leads him to work for the Russian mafia in Prava. His otherwise useless education has given him invaluable anthropological insights into the habits of overprivileged American would-be literati, allowing him to come up with the perfect plan to exploit one of the few untapped markets in the city of Prava: the expats themselves. He creates *Cagliostro*, a cross between a literary magazine and a pyramid scheme, and one has the sense that the posers whom Vladimir fleeces in Prava could easily have been on loan from the casts of other expat novels. For all his anxieties about being a perpetual outsider, Vladimir (and Shteyngart) has a unique advantage: As a product of both the triumphalist West and the vanished East, when he looks at the visitors from the United States and the denizens of post-Communist Europe, he sees funny foreigners everywhere. ■

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Who Killed Emmett Till?

REBECCA SEGALL AND DAVID HOLMBERG

THE UNTOLD STORY OF EMMETT LOUIS TILL.
A film by Keith Beauchamp.

THE MURDER OF EMMETT TILL.
A film by Stanley Nelson.

THE LYNCHING OF EMMETT TILL: A Documentary Narrative.
Edited by Christopher Metress. University of Virginia Press. 384 pp. $18.95.

The summer before 14-year-old Trent Lott entered all-white Pascagoula High School in Mississippi, a 14-year-old black boy from Chicago named Emmett Till convinced his mother to let him go down South to try cotton-picking with his cousins.

"Bo," she said to her naïve son, unaware of the ways of the South, "if you see a white woman coming down the street, you get off the sidewalk and drop your head. Don't even look at her." But just about a week after Till arrived at his great-uncle's home in Money, Mississippi, that summer of 1955, Mamie Till-Mobley got word that her only child may have whistled at or insulted a white woman clerking at the Bryant store in town, and was missing, assumedly kidnapped. A few days later, Till's grotesquely disfigured body, with one eye dangling down the cheek, a smashed nose, a bullet hole through his ax-sliced head and a "choked-out" tongue, washed ashore in the Tallahatchie River.

Mobley insisted on opening her son's casket to the public and media, horrifying Northern blacks and whites; the tragedy helped inspire Rosa Parks to refuse to move to the back of the bus, kicking off the Montgomery bus boycott and helping spark the onset of the civil rights movement.

Two white men, J.W. Milam and Roy Bryant (whose wife was the one allegedly insulted), were arrested and charged with Till's murder. Despite dramatic testimony by Till's great uncle, Mose Wright, in which he identified both men as the ones who took Till from Wright's home in the middle of the night, and despite the testimony of Willie Reed, a young black plantation hand who told the court that he saw Milam leave a barn from which he had heard screams, an all-white Mississippi jury unapologetically set the defendants free. Furthermore, a subsequent grand jury refused to indict them for kidnapping. Four months after the trial, though, both men confessed their guilt in the murder to a reporter from *Look* magazine for $4,000: "I'm tired of 'em sending your kind down here to stir up trouble," Milam is quoted as saying he told Till just before he shot him. "I'm going to make an example of you—just so everybody can know how me and my folks stand." Since the men were protected from further prosecution, an FBI investigation was the last hope for justice, but President Eisenhower refused to give the go-ahead. And the case has been closed ever since.

Yet there may be a new chance that justice can be served, based on information emerging from a trio of documentary filmmakers investigating the case. First-time filmmaker Keith Beauchamp's research into the history of the case and the simultaneous release of another Till film, made by award-winning documentarian Stanley Nelson, have kicked up interest both at the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and in the Mississippi Attorney General's office. A third documentary still in the works, by Rhode Island filmmaker Gode Davis, on lynching in America, has turned up even more intriguing leads. While the Trent Lott episode reminded America of its living legacy of racism, these first two substantial documentaries on Till's murder have had early screenings in New York, reminding us that one or more of the boy's killers may still be alive, carrying a burden of their own.

A half-century later, the filmmakers have interviewed witnesses who said there were more than two men involved in the Till murder. Christoher Metress, a professor at Samford University in Birmingham, Alabama, has also edited a book, just published,

Rebecca Segall, former senior editor at Psychology Today, *is now freelancing for publications including* The Village Voice, New York, Salon.com, Utne Reader, Psychology Today *and* Spin. *David Holmberg, a former reporter for* New York Newsday *and former senior editor of* The Village Voice, *teaches journalism at New York University.*

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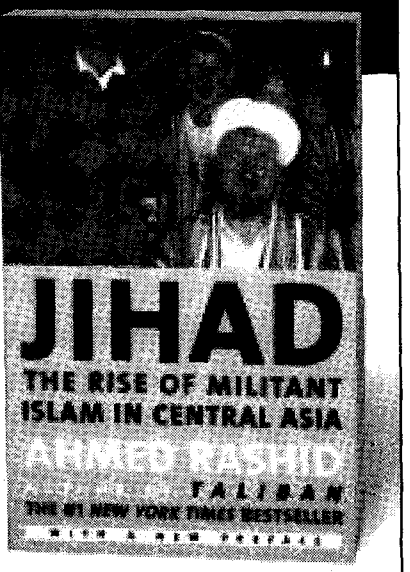

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The Lynching of Emmett Till: A Documentary Narrative, the first collection of journalistic accounts from the time of the killing. The presentation organizes facts and recollections that provide strong historical support for reopening the case. This means the era's last high-profile unsolved murder has a chance of being legally re-examined and perhaps finally resolved.

Theodore Shaw, associate director-counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, said his organization would consider entering the case "if asked by the family or anyone who has a role in it," and Beauchamp has taken on that role. Shaw said that while it's not really its role to press for reopening criminal investigations, the organization has responded to such requests in the past. He cited the Vernon Dahmer case in Mississippi—the notorious 1966 fatal firebombing of the home of a voter-registration activist—in which a belated conviction was obtained, in part because the fund pushed hard for justice, pressuring the authorities. Referring to Till's murder as "one of the most notorious crimes of the civil rights era," Shaw said that "it may very well be possible to have a successful prosecution" still. He added that "if any of them [the participants] are alive, they should be prosecuted."

Mississippi Assistant Attorney General Frank Spencer recently affirmed that the new information coming forward could result in a reopening of the case. "We welcome any evidence from any source that would let us know what happened there," he said. Special Assistant to the Attorney General Jonathan Compretta agreed to have a conference call on January 6 with Beauchamp, Mamie Till-Mobley and Alvin Sykes, president of the Justice Campaign of America, as a possible first step. Unfortunately, Till-Mobley died that very day of heart failure, on the eve of a visit to Atlanta for an appearance with Beauchamp. She was 81.

The filmmakers Beauchamp and Nelson share similar conclusions about the circumstances surrounding Till's murder and have a desire to see the killers brought to justice. But they differ dramatically in their own relationship to the Till case and in their approach to documentary storytelling.

Beauchamp, 31, grew up in Louisiana with the Emmett Till story etched into his sense of the world, like many Southern blacks. "I remember the day I saw *Jet* magazine's reprint of Emmett Till's photo, and I was devastated," he said. "I thought about him almost every day of my life." Wishing to make sure this doesn't happen to anyone else—"If we forget our past, history will repeat itself," Beauchamp says—he hopes that his film, *The Untold Story of Emmett Louis Till*, will be an educational tool to enlighten a new generation.

Beauchamp's dedication has paid off in many ways: He located and earned the trust of traumatized black witnesses from Mississippi's back country who haven't spoken of the case in nearly fifty years. They spoke primarily about what happened at the store in Money, about Emmett's being taken from Wright's home, and about the beating of Till in a barn before he was killed. They did not deal substantively with the issue of other perpetrators. Beauchamp also captured on film the dark, eerie nights of Mississippi back country that still reek of slavery's legacy. Because of his desire to connect deeply with sources in the film, Beauchamp has also inadvertently created a lovely tribute to Mobley, who opens the film with a story of Emmett Till's difficult birth, and who navigates us through much of the film.

The era's last high-profile unsolved murder has at least a chance of being legally re-examined—and perhaps finally resolved.

Beauchamp has much difficulty contextualizing sources and developments, and he fails to provide subtitles when the accents of speakers become unintelligible; he also has sound-mixing problems throughout the film. But he compensates for his lack of sophistication with the relentless and passionate pursuit of frightened and elusive people to interview. In the end, the young filmmaker produced a heart-wrenching, unsettling documentary, exemplified in the last moments of the film when Beauchamp reads a poem that he wrote as he holds the camera on Emmett Till's grave: "Now it's all over. Yes over for me, but not for my brothers and sisters who are still living with this hell on earth. I must say to you: You may kill the body of the movement, but not the spirit."

In stark contrast, Nelson, a well-seasoned filmmaker, has made in *The Murder of Emmett Till* a seamless, easy-to-follow, beautifully shot film (financed by PBS, it is to air January 20). This carefully narrated work opens with news footage shot in Mississippi just weeks before Till's arrival; it depicts worsening race relations, highly politicized lynchings and an excerpt from a state-funded propaganda tape about the virtue of segregation. Nelson then underlines Till's vulnerability by bringing us quickly to clips of blacks and whites dancing together in Chicago. Nelson's film is filled with metaphors, visual storytelling, smooth transitions and evocative cinematography depicting the brutal and lush heat of the Delta. While the film does touch on the possibility of reopening the case, it is primarily a historic re-creation, not a cinematic investigation. But Nelson, whose film will be shown at this year's Sundance film festival, says he'll put increasing focus on the reopening issue.

Given the publicity surrounding Beauchamp's and Nelson's films, it's ironic that the chances of reopening the Till case may hinge most on the potential journalistic breakthrough of a third filmmaker, Gode Davis. Davis has been working for five years on an ambitious documentary on lynching in America. He told us he's interviewed a white man in Mississippi who told a convincing story of his alleged participation in the Till murder. Davis will not identify the man or pinpoint his location other than to say that after his wife died about six months ago, he moved from "out in the sticks" to a "residential neighborhood" somewhere in Mississippi.

Davis also claims to know the identity of, and plans to interview, an Atlanta-area man, also white, about his possible involvement in Till's murder. And the filmmaker says he's in touch with yet a third white man, Billy Wilson, who claims to have been a witness to Till's brutal killing but did not participate in it. Beauchamp obtained a 1970 newspaper story from the Mississippi *Southern Patriot* in which a man by that name is said "by blacks to brag about being one of the killers of Emmett Till in 1955 in Money, Miss."

Davis said Wilson lives about thirty miles from the alleged participant in Till's murder and expresses regret for the atrocities he claims to have witnessed forty-seven years ago. "Wilson told me that some of the things that happened that night, he would not have done them," Davis said. "He said there were some things he would not wish on that boy." Davis, who has seen neither Beauchamp's nor Nelson's film, is reluctant to identify the two other possible white perpetrators—whom he stumbled onto while working on his lynching project—to fellow journalists or law enforcement officials. His concern is that investigators looking into Till's case might subpoena his notes and effectively short-circuit the project.

Whatever Davis has or doesn't have on tape—he says he has the witness on audio—

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is especially important because of what both Beauchamp and Nelson lack in their films: Both included references to the possibility of the involvement of other whites in Till's murder, but Beauchamp chose not to use the supportive evidence he has, at least in an early version of his film. He makes no reference to the widely held belief that Milam's dead brother, Leslie, was involved; and he cut a possibly significant quote from his interview with Ruthie Mae Crawford, a friend of Till's who, along with seven others, accompanied him on his fateful visit to the Bryant store in Money in August 1955, where the alleged insult of Bryant's wife, Carolyn, who was behind the counter, took place.

Crawford told Beauchamp she saw a caravan of cars—"My Lord, look at all the cars!"—pull into the property of Till's great uncle, Mose Wright, the night the young Chicagoan was kidnapped from Wright's home. Other accounts have referred to just one vehicle, occupied by Milam and Bryant and, perhaps, blacks who were forced to help them.

At least five of the newspaper articles Metress collected in his book made allusions to the existence of other participants in the murder. For example, in an open letter written to the US Attorney General and J. Edgar Hoover by James Hicks, a *Baltimore Afro-American* reporter covering the trial, reads:

> Go to [Henry] Loggins' father [a black man employed by Milam]. Press him. He will be reluctant to talk and when you finally hear his story you will easily understand why he is reluctant to talk. But when you finally get his story, he will tell you that his son Henry has confessed to him that he was on the murder truck the night Emmett Till was killed. He can tell you that his son has named to him the four more white men—instead of two—who were involved in the kidnapping or murder.

In addition, on September 10, 1955, two reporters for the Chicago *Defender* quoted Till's 16-year-old cousin, Wheeler Parker, who had gone down to Mississippi with Till that summer: "Parker said he was in the next room when three men came for Bo that Sunday morning." A little later that month, the Jackson *State Times* printed excerpts of Reed's testimony in which he said: "I saw four white men in the cab and three colored men in the back. One was sitting on the bottom and the others sat on the side of the body." Dr. T.R.M. Howard, head of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, devoted his days during that time to

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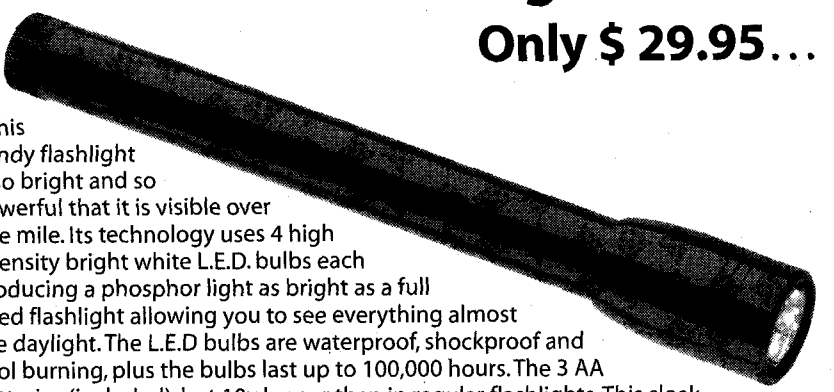

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finding and interviewing witnesses in the Till case. Based on his research, a black columnist wrote in a pamphlet for his organization: "There were four white men in the cab, all of whom appeared to have been under the influence of intoxicating liquor."

While Beauchamp gingerly sidestepped the question of reopening the case, he included a lengthy interview with Henry Loggins, now living in Dayton, Ohio, and never before interviewed about the case. Loggins repeatedly denied to Beauchamp that he was present during the abduction of Till. But such testimony should not be a deterrent to those pressing for further investigation. "Even if reopening the case proves difficult," said Shaw of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, "there's a larger obligation involved—a necessity to pursue the truth about Till. America wants to know what happened, and who was responsible for this terrible deed." ■

There He Goes Again

WALTER C. UHLER

REAGAN'S WAR: The Epic Story of His Forty-Year Struggle and Final Triumph Over Communism.
By Peter Schweizer. Doubleday. 339 pp. $26.

Near the end of his threadbare, tendentious and dubious hagiography of Ronald Reagan, Peter Schweizer recounts the President's first trip to Moscow, in late spring 1988. Reagan had undertaken the visit, so Schweizer claims, in order to push "just once more against the Soviet edifice." Schweizer waxes euphoric about how the dissidents at Spaso House "erupted with cheers" as Reagan entered the room, how he wowed the students at Moscow State University and how Reagan lectured Gorbachev, in the words of one observer, like "a parent trying to reason with a child."

Strikingly absent from Schweizer's account of the visit, however, is perhaps the most revealing incident of all. When asked whether he still considered the Soviet Union to be the Evil Empire, Reagan answered: "No. I was talking about another time, another era."

Beyond questioning why Schweizer would omit such an important incident (obviously it doesn't fit with the author's portrayal of Reagan as a principled and relentless anti-Communist), one also might ask what had happened during the five years since Reagan first used the term. Had Reagan changed? Was he perhaps won over by Gorbachev? And why the criticism by prominent conservative columnist George Will ("Reagan has accelerated the moral disarmament of the West—actual disarmament will follow")?

Schweizer gladly recalls Reagan's accusation against the Kremlin: "The only morality they recognize is what will further their cause, meaning they reserve unto themselves the right to commit any crime, to lie, to cheat, in order to attain [their objectives]." Yet, criminality aside, it's an allegation worth recalling when reading Schweizer's book. For after discounting for Schweizer's transparent and obnoxious attempts to put an epic glow on everything that Reagan touched, there still remains the bias and incompetence about his claims that might add up to something worse:

No, President Eisenhower was not a coward, even if Reagan claimed that under Ike it was "painfully clear that our foreign policy today is motivated by fear of the bomb." After Stalin, fear of the bomb affected American and Soviet leaders alike, including Reagan (something Schweizer strains to ignore). And no, JFK had not "given up too much" to bring the Cuban Missile Crisis to a peaceful conclusion. As for Lyndon Johnson, he may have been "naïve" for believing that a slow escalation of the war in Vietnam might succeed, but hindsight has not been kind to people, like Reagan, who claimed that the war "must be fought through to victory."

President Nixon virtually gave away America's grain to the Soviet Union, and Henry Kissinger "approved the sale of advanced computers to Moscow for the first time." Schweizer casts as their gravest mistake, however, "giving up too much to Moscow" when they signed the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty and the Anti–Ballistic Missile Treaty.

Reagan severely criticized Gerald Ford for failing "to do everything possible to rescue Saigon" and for signing the Helsinki Accords, which put "our stamp of approval on Russia's enslavement of the captive nations." However, Schweizer remains silent about those Soviet dissidents, inspired by the accords, who demanded that the Kremlin abide by the Helsinki provisions.

Finally, Schweizer quotes Politburo member Boris Ponomarev to demonstrate that President Jimmy Carter had "not shown enough stature." Implying that the Soviets believed Carter, like Kennedy, to be "too liberal to fight," Schweizer claims that "the Kremlin was coming to the conclusion that it had another green light" for adventurism in the Third World.

Obviously Reagan's acute sensitivity to the failings of sitting Presidents abandons him once *he* is seated. But so does Schweizer's. Virtually every initiative by Reagan is overblown, while most of his failures go unmentioned. For example, America's invasion of Grenada not only is called a "shocking setback" for the Soviets but also is evidence that "Reagan was advancing in the developing world, backing anti-Communist insurgents and using military might when necessary." The book does not mention the bombing of the Marine barracks in Beirut, which preceded America's invasion of Grenada and cost the lives of 241 US servicemen.

Schweizer is at his scholarly worst, however, when he attempts to deny that Reagan's military buildup and reckless talk nearly provoked the Soviet leaders into launching a pre-emptive nuclear attack—to pre-empt the pre-emptive nuclear attack that they believed Reagan was about to unleash on them. Events during the course of 1983—such as President Reagan's "Evil Empire" and "Star Wars" speeches, America's reaction to the shootdown of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 by a Soviet fighter pilot, the US invasion of Grenada—intensified the KGB's ongoing search (since Reagan's inauguration) for evidence that the United States intended to inflict a pre-emptive nuclear strike on the USSR.

In November of that year, the KGB mistakenly believed it had found such evidence. A pre-emptive nuclear strike by the United States might occur under the cover of the Able Archer military exercises that US/NATO forces were conducting, to test,

Walter C. Uhler, a weapons acquisition executive in the Defense Department, writes about Russia and military history for a variety of publications. The views expressed are personal and not intended to represent the official position of his employer.

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as Frances FitzGerald relates in *Way Out There in the Blue: Reagan and Star Wars and the End of the Cold War*, "the command-and-control procedures for the use of nuclear weapons." Moscow's KGB "Center" issued a flash alert for all information indicating that the United States was preparing an imminent nuclear strike.

Consequently, according to Professor Beth Fischer in *The Reagan Reversal*, Moscow upgraded "the alert status of twelve of its nuclear-capable fighter aircraft," and "in East Germany and Poland, Soviet forces began to prepare for a retaliatory nuclear strike."

Although the crisis subsided, why the Soviet Union did not launch a pre-emptive strike of its own remains an open question. After all, as Fischer notes, "prevailing nuclear doctrine at the time held that in the face of an impending nuclear attack, the Soviets should have sought to avoid disaster by launching a pre-emptive nuclear attack of their own."

Schweizer acknowledges that Soviet leader Yuri Andropov "believed that a first strike was being planned," but cites Gen. Nikolai Detinov (without an endnote) denying that the military brass "took the threat of an American attack seriously." Schweizer then adds, "Neither did the aged Defense Minister [Dmitri] Ustinov." To prove that point, Schweizer adds an endnote that refers the reader to page 130 of Andrei Kokoshin's book, *Soviet Strategic Thought, 1917–1991* (MIT, 1998). Yet, when the reader turns to page 130, he finds no mention of Ustinov.

Schweizer also claims that "Likewise, Foreign Minister Gromyko dismissed such paranoia, explaining that the Americans would never strike first, but only 'in response to aggression.'" As proof of Gromyko's quote, Schweizer refers to pages 522–23 of Anatoly Dobrynin's memoir, *In Confidence*. But there we find neither Gromyko nor his quote. What we do find, however, is Dobrynin's assertion that Ustinov believed "that the Reagan administration was actively preparing for war."

Time and the inaccessibility of sources prevented this reviewer from checking all but a few endnotes for their accuracy. Nevertheless, Schweizer's careless treatment of the readily available evidence raises doubts about his handling of the archival evidence from Eastern Europe that was to distinguish *Reagan's War* from his earlier (terrible) book, *Victory*. Suffice it to say that the research in the instances mentioned above allows Schweizer to claim: "The [Soviets'] real concern was not over a surprise attack but Reagan's stubborn efforts to regain superiority and undermine Soviet power." We do know, however, that numerous scholars believe that Soviet preparations to pre-empt an American preemptive attack had a sobering effect upon Reagan. Professor Fischer, for example, notes that "Reagan was visibly shaken by the Soviet's misinterpretation of the NATO drill," which came on the heels of his personal screening of the television movie *The Day After* and a subsequent, extremely sobering briefing about US nuclear-war plans.

Consequently, Reagan too began to fear the bomb, a fear that Gorbachev cultivated in his quest to achieve serious arms-reduction agreements. Although Fischer asserts that "the Reagan administration began pursuing 'cooperation and understanding' with the Soviet Union in 1984 because it sought to avoid inadvertent nuclear exchanges in the future," Schweizer dismisses this fundamental reorientation as a mere change in "diplomatic tone," which didn't prevent the "underlying strategy against Moscow [from] intensifying."

Schweizer also claims that Reagan's hard-line policies brought Gorbachev (the "radical" reformer) to power, ignoring Robert D. English's acclaimed scholarship on the subject. According to English, the "heightened foreign threat served hard-line interests in a struggle that was primarily domestic, the main goal of its exponents was to squelch reforms."

The most persuasive evidence indicates that Gorbachev viewed the Soviet military—and its fear of SDI (Strategic Defense Initiative, "Star Wars")—with circumspection until two events radically altered the Soviet political environment. The first was Andrei Sakharov's advice to Gorbachev in February 1987 that he should not allow concerns about eliminating SDI to prevent him from pursuing arms control agreements with America. The renowned physicist dismissed SDI as "a Maginot line in space."

The second was the May 1987 incursion into Soviet air space (and Red Square!) of Mathias Rust's Cessna airplane. It provided Gorbachev with the pretext of purging the military, about which he subsequently remarked: "Let everyone here and in the West know where the power is—it is in the political leadership, in the Politburo." Thus, Gorbachev had overcome a significant obstacle to his pursuit of "mutual security."

But back to Schweizer. According to him, when the "aging lion" first encountered the "young tiger" in Geneva in 1985,

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Reagan "established the high ground." The Soviet leader soon began "zeroing in on Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative," because it "provoked passions of fear in Gorbachev." Absent from Schweizer's epic tale, however, are Gorbachev's words to Reagan about SDI, reported in his *Memoirs*: "I think you should know that we have already developed a response. It will be effective and far less expensive than your project, and be ready for use in less time."

Were Schweizer concerned with facts, he would have discovered that in 1985, a Soviet *protivodeistvie* (counteraction) effort to defeat Reagan's SDI produced the Topol-M ICBM. Development and production of the Topol-M survived both the collapse of the Soviet Union and a decade of economic hardship in post-Soviet Russia. First deployed in 1998, it remains the principal reason that many present-day Russian officials do not fear President George W. Bush's decision to withdraw America from the ABM Treaty. They believe that the Topol-M will remain capable of penetrating any national missile defense that America might deploy during the next fifteen to twenty-five years.

So much, then, for Schweizer's claim that Reagan's SDI sowed debilitating technological doubts and exacerbated economic hardship in the Soviet Union.

Schweizer's book is riddled with other errors that render it unreliable to everyone except ideologues. For example, consider his assertion that in early 1989, "Mikhail Gorbachev, strapped for cash and no longer able to support the empire, had announced that he was cutting free the countries of Eastern Europe." According to Russia expert Archie Brown, in early 1985 moral scruple, not considerations of cash, prompted Gorbachev to tell some East European leaders that they "should no longer imagine that the Soviet Union would send tanks to their rescue if they failed to establish a modus vivendi with their own populations."

But Schweizer's book will certainly be of use to those ideologues who cite Reagan's early prescription for winning the cold war—military strength, national missile defense and a belief that "in an all out race our system is stronger, and eventually the enemy gives up the race as a hopeless cause"—as the model for today's American Empire.

To see the legacy of Reagan's early presidential years, one need only read the Bush Administration's Nuclear Posture Review (which lowers the threshold for use of nuclear weapons) or its new National Security Strategy (which not only justifies pre-emptive strikes and discounts the value of arms control agreements, but also arrogantly proclaims "that the President has no intention of allowing any foreign power to catch up with the huge lead the United States has opened since the fall of the Soviet Union."

But here's the rub: Reagan's hard-line policies did not win the cold war. Instead, it was a post–Able Archer, accommodating Reagan who permitted Gorbachev's idealistic and revolutionary policy of "mutual security" to bring the cold war to a peaceful conclusion. Gorbachev's accomplishments offered the world the prospect of a genuinely new world order. By embracing the early Reagan, however, America's "New World Order" has become but a more obnoxious form of the old.

Like Reagan before Able Archer, lesser Soviet leaders (before Gorbachev) were quite prepared to continue an arms race that increasingly jeopardized the security of the world. Unfortunately, today's world is ruled by such lesser leaders; which is why the Bush Administration's neo-Reaganism seems destined to create more enemies and arms races. ■

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Our Man in Saigon

H. BRUCE FRANKLIN

In the new film version of *The Quiet American*, a photographer races into a plaza in downtown Saigon, rather puzzling jaded British reporter Thomas Fowler (Michael Caine). Moments later, a car bomb strews shattered bodies and vehicles around the plaza. We hear another bomb explode nearby. Then we see the supposedly innocent American, Alden Pyle (Brendan Fraser), ordering the photographer to focus on dead bodies and the most hideously wounded survivors.

Moviegoers familiar with Graham Greene's novel may wonder why director Phillip Noyce is taking such liberties with this crucial scene. Why insert a photographer? Isn't adding a second bomb a bit of cinematic overkill? And where's the novel's dazed, confused Alden Pyle, stumbling with his impenetrable American innocence through the carnage he didn't really intend to cause?

But this scene, like other twists in the film, actually moves deeper into what Greene discovered in the early 1950s about the figure he called the Quiet American—charmingly boyish, impregnably armored in ignorance, righteousness and good intentions, dedicated to replicating America around the world, preaching democracy and spewing bombs in Vietnam. It also moves *The Quiet American* into the twenty-first century, with piercing relevance to the "War on Terror."

"Reds' Time Bombs Rip Saigon Center" blared a headline in the *New York Times* of January 10, 1952. Written by Tillman Durdin, a *Times* reporter in Saigon working in tight collaboration with the CIA, the story called the bombing "one of the most spectacular and destructive single incidents in the long history of revolutionary terrorism," carried out by "agents here of the Vietminh." A blood-chilling photo of the devastation appeared as "Picture of the Week" in the January 28 *Life* magazine, with a caption that asked people to focus on the most gruesome results of this terrorism by the "Viet Minh Communists": "The bomb blew the legs from under the man in the foreground and left him bloody and dazed, propped up on the tile sidewalk." The bombing certainly came at a convenient time for the war hawks, including *Life*, whose previous week's lead editorial, "Indo-China Is in Danger," was a near panicky call for major US participation in the Vietnam War (which the French were still fighting, with US assistance), because "it's all one war, and our war, whether the front be in Europe, Korea, or Indo-China."

Greene, who was then wintering in Saigon, wondered how *Life* happened to have a photographer on the scene, as he explained in his 1980 memoir *Ways of Escape*: "The *Life* photographer at the moment of the explosion was so well placed that he was able to take an astonishing and horrifying photograph which showed the body of a trishaw driver still upright after his legs had been blown off." This photograph "was reproduced in an American propaganda magazine published in Manila over the caption 'The work of Ho Chi Minh,'" Greene continued, despite the fact that Gen. Trinh Minh Thé, a warlord masquerading as Vietnam's savior from colonialism and Communism, "had promptly and proudly claimed the bomb as his own." "Who," Greene pondered, "had supplied the material" to this "bandit"?

A few months after this bombing and a series of bicycle bombs set off later in January by Thé's agents, Greene began writing his answer in *The Quiet American*. During the Vietnam War and its sequels, the novel became routinely labeled "prophetic." But what Greene was trying to tell us half a century ago now seems to border on sedition, as our government implements the President's declaration, "Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists." Indeed, *The Quiet American* has become so subversive that Miramax tried to deep-six its movie after 9/11 (originally it was set for a 2001 release), until Michael Caine essentially forced this past December's two-week run in New York and Los Angeles, and its impending wider opening. So now Greene's exposé in the early 1950s of the US machinations for imperial war in Southeast Asia reappears today amid the machinations for imperial war in Southwest Asia and the Middle East.

H. Bruce Franklin is the John Cotton Dana Professor of English and American Studies at Rutgers University in Newark. His latest book is Vietnam and Other American Fantasies *(Massachusetts).*

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NATIONAL

Daniel Singer Prize

■ The Daniel Singer Millennium Prize Foundation. The 2003 Daniel Singer Annual Prize is $2,500. The Daniel Singer Foundation invites submissions for the 2003 Daniel Singer Prize. The Foundation is pleased to announce that the 2002 Prize has been awarded to Staughton Lynd, a labor historian, lawyer and activist. The 2003 Prize will be awarded for an original work of not more than 5,000 words, which considers the question posed by Daniel Singer in *Whose Millennium? Theirs or Ours?* Namely, with an analysis and understanding of existing society, what must we do to reinvent the ideas of the left, unequivocally based on democracy and equality, so that we can begin to establish the framework for making this Our Millennium. The Prize will be given for an essay which addresses this question. Essays may be submitted in any language. The essays will be judged by an international panel of distinguished experts appointed by the Foundation. The winner will be announced in December 2003, and the winner will be invited to deliver a public lecture based on the essay. Submissions should be made no later than August 31, 2003, to The Daniel Singer Millennium Prize Foundation, PO Box 334, Sherman, CT 06784 USA. All inquiries should be sent to this address. The Daniel Singer Website is www.danielsinger.org.

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When Greene, a veteran of British intelligence, used his contacts in French security services to investigate the Saigon bombings of January 1952, he discovered a US campaign to create a "Third Force," opposed to both Communism and colonialism and designed to evolve into a US-backed "democracy" in Vietnam. Any resemblance to recent events in Afghanistan and Iraq is hardly coincidental. The hotbed of US Third Force activities was the Economic Aid Mission, headed by someone whom the French commanding officer, Gen. Jean de Lattre, called "the most dangerous man in Indochina." Greene himself had been ardently sermonized about the wonders of Third Force "democracy" by a boyish, enthusiastic member of the Economic Aid Mission, a likable young man who, according to Greene, was the original model for Alden Pyle.

By the time *The Quiet American* was published in 1955, America's Third Force democracy had actually been institutionalized in Saigon in the person of the brutal puppet dictator Ngo Dinh Diem, a former New Jersey resident who claimed to be the legitimate ruler of the entire country of Vietnam. (No government in either Saigon or Hanoi ever recognized the US invention of two separate countries called "South Vietnam" and "North Vietnam.") To prepare for Diem's insertion into Vietnam, CIA operative Col. Edward Lansdale arrived on June 1, 1954, in the midst of the Geneva peace negotiations, to launch a systematic campaign of sabotage and terror in the north and to supply a military force for Diem to gain control of Saigon. Building on the CIA contacts that Greene had earlier discovered, Lansdale employed terrorist warlord Gen. Trinh Minh Thé to secure the city, an event prefigured in the movie by a scene of Thé marching with his troops into Saigon. Like the warlords of the Afghan "Northern Alliance," Thé was paid by the CIA and, like the gentlemen Washington is preparing to rule postwar Iraq, was called by his US patrons a "dissident" and a "nationalist."

Especially since Lansdale's covert activities were revealed in his top-secret reports included in the *Pentagon Papers*, most commentators on the novel have assumed that he must have been the model for the Quiet American, something denied repeatedly by Greene. The debates about which particular US agent was the primary model for the Quiet American miss the main point: Greene's Quiet American is just one avatar of an archetypal American terrorist. For example, in the late 1980s, whenever I asked my "Vietnam and America" class whom they saw in their mind's eye when they tried to picture Alden Pyle, a virtual chorus would respond "Oliver North."

The movie incorporates elements of our Lansdales and Norths into its Alden Pyle. And it assumes that we may know what the novel's audience—and even its author—could not have known: the results of their acts. The carnage in the plaza thus becomes a synecdoche for the millions of victims of the US war in Southeast Asia and the many other millions slaughtered, crippled, impoverished and terrorized by the subsequent US covert and overt wars for "democracy" in Chile, Cuba, Angola, Grenada, El Salvador, Panama, Afghanistan, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Somalia and Iraq, to name a few.

Debates about which particular US agent was the primary model for the Quiet American miss the point: He's an avatar of terrorism.

Whether or not Greene wrote Lansdale into his novel, Lansdale wrote Greene into the next version of *The Quiet American*, the 1958 film directed by Joseph Mankiewicz. Just as the CIA in 1952 had orchestrated terrorist bombings in Saigon to incite a US war in Vietnam, the CIA and several of its front organizations used the 1958 film to resurrect those bombings, blame the Communists once again, build support for Diem's dictatorship and savage Greene personally as the archetypal "intellectual" Communist dupe who menaced the democracy that America had built in Vietnam.

In March 1956, shortly after Mankiewicz bought the film rights to *The Quiet American*, Lansdale wrote to the director from his Saigon operations headquarters and, showing his skills as a former advertising executive, explained how to turn the novel into an assault on Greene and an advertisement for Diem. Although Lansdale acknowledged that Trinh Minh Thé had done the bombing and claimed credit for it in a radio broadcast, he assured Mankiewicz that no "more than one or two Vietnamese now alive know the real truth of the matter, and they certainly aren't going to tell it to anyone," so he should "just go right ahead and let it be finally revealed that the Communists did it after all, even to faking the radio broadcast."

Mankiewicz cast Audie Murphy, the most decorated US soldier of World War II, as "The American" (he has no other name in the film), got one of Diem's henchmen to organize the on-location shooting, dedicated the film to Diem and arranged the first screenings as benefits for one of Diem's main sponsors, the International Rescue Committee. "The American" is completely innocent and thoroughly heroic. In the car-bomb scene, it is not he but Fowler (Michael Redgrave) who is unmasked. The American arrives with medical equipment in a "United States Christian Mission" truck (the movie makes Murphy closely resemble Dr. Tom Dooley) to care for the wounded. When Fowler, who has been duped by the Communists, stands amid the victims hysterically accusing him of involvement in the bombing, The American, fuming with righteous indignation, shouts, "For once in your life, why don't you just shut up and help somebody?"

Later, The American tries one last time to convince Fowler of the righteous destiny of the democratic Third Force. "I met a very prominent Vietnamese living in exile in New Jersey," he earnestly explains. "If all goes well, if Vietnam becomes an independent republic, this man will be its leader." This man was, of course, actually reigning in Saigon in 1958, five years before another covert US plot arranged his murder.

The terrorist bombs, according to the 1958 movie, had been set off by the Communists so that they could trick Fowler into helping them murder The American and, more important, his vision of Third Force democracy. "It was the idea that had to be murdered," French police inspector Vigot tells Fowler. "To help assassinate the idea," Vigot explains, the Communists needed someone "gifted in the use of words," someone who would substitute "a work of fiction, an entertainment" for reality. As Fowler realizes how he has been used by the insidious Communists, he is reduced to a writhing, loathsome and self-loathing stand-in for Graham Greene.

But now the tables are turned once more by the current film, which transforms that Lansdale-Mankiewicz fiction into a subtext, framing many scenes with similar composition while exposing the earlier film as a continuation of the 1952 US terrorist conspiracy and its hideous sequels. Ironically, delaying the wide release of *The Quiet American* has added deeper layers of meaning, because in 2003 we understand even more about how terrorism can be used as a pretext for war, and who uses it. ■

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THE REST OF LOVE

The hive is for where
the honey was.
Was findable there,

then not.
Sometimes, I think I dreamed it,
or I am saying it like a thing

that I would do,
when I would never,
and calling it art:

that first time;
that second time…
That's how it starts—

I know as much about mythology
as, by now,
you must also. The bull

for slaughter; the number of days
required for the carcass to rot
correctly—

so that eventually, the bees come back,
lifting the dropped veil of
themselves up,

into the air, like some
dark and obvious
exception to a rule

I once knew. Is it true that
nothing lacks, given
the right comparison,

its charm?
In the story,
it is difficult to say

whether Orpheus is stupid,
or is heartless, or—what,
human?

He looks back.
He's lost everything.

And his own story begins in earnest.

Carl Phillips

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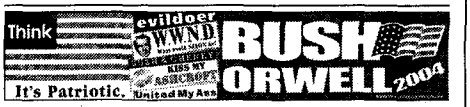

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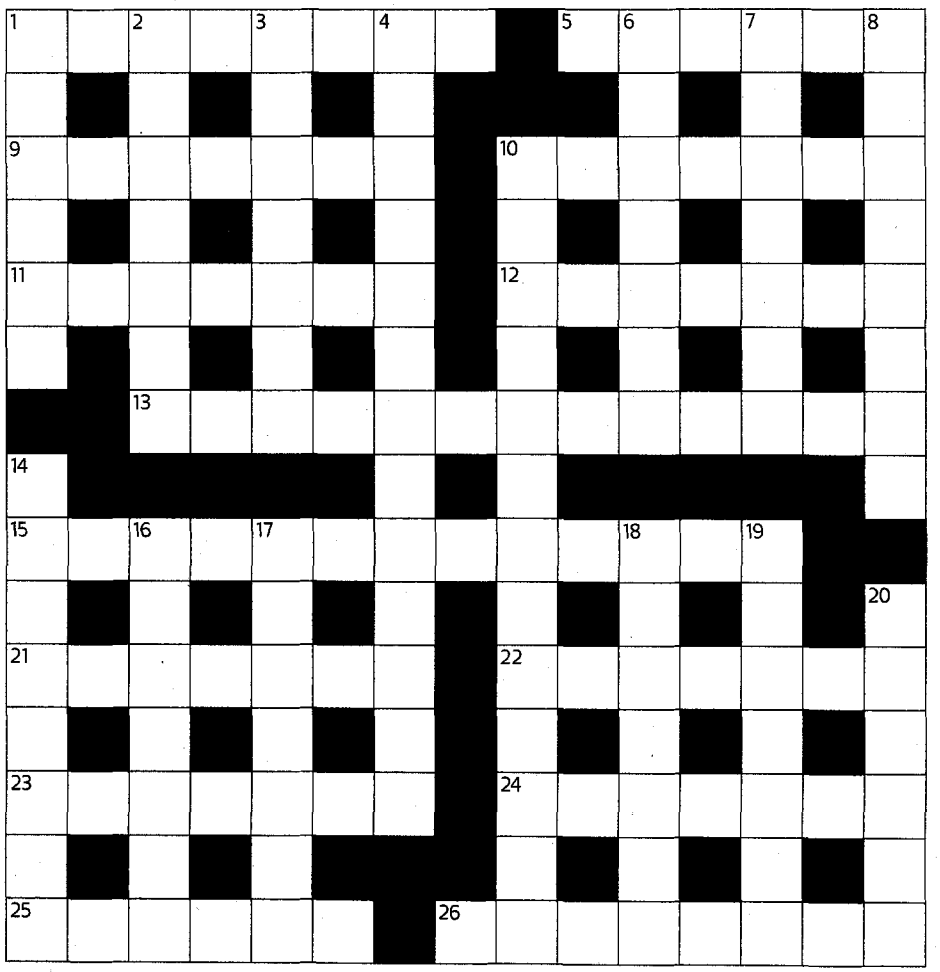
PUZZLE NO. 2878

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 If you have the nerve, this may be connected with it—though some unruly group is associated with Leo. (8)

5 You get by, and sort of warn the contents—being like the Hercules type. (6)

9 You certainly won't find anything in an egg drink, when it's not thick inside. (7)

10 Her husband was the ultimate bossy type! (7)

11 Infected people used to have to yell in the streets so! (7)

12 Workers sometimes make a pile this way. (7)

13 I would bring it back to a point with some support, and alternatively change into what might be unevenly divided. (13)

15 Hurled at the transgressor when a number gets "done wrong"—and a bad man is not in need of straightening out. (13)

21 A limb, when one starts to bleed, is covered in the kind of writing you can understand. (7)

22 Pullover in nautical style? (5,2)

23 If the Italian headwater were turned, one could drink such choices as are available. (7)

24 Not quite fearless when it comes to trouble, but even cowards like to show it at times. (7)

25 Not happy to get led so badly—especially where one sits while riding. (6)

26 The short version, etc., is drawn out this way, and in Paris it takes time. (2,6)

DOWN

1 An exceptionally smart one is one in a kind! (6)

2 Saw that the summer drinks were a little less palatable this way. (7)

3 When the toilers are of this sort, one who does is scarcely a toiler. (7)

4 Those who make chopped liver—or are they merely street musicians? (5-8)

6 One is a genuinely high position, which may have lots to offer. (7)

7 Not the exact setting of *On the Beach* but it could have been. (7)

8 The classic story is a real composition in half of the Chinese philosophy over a thousand, as they say. (8)

10 Get a bit too excited, being a world-class winner that confused a bad bite with it. (5,2,3,3)

14 If you want seafood, ring me up when you have what could be bribes around it. (8)

16 Turned down the requirement around a gangster's gun! (7)

17 Get me up, Little Brother, with forty-nine ways to bring things into conflict. (7)

18 A draft animal comes to a dead end with an acid type of salt, naturally! (7)

19 A leak is revealed when you get a newspaper reference to turn to an unspecified sheet. (7)

20 A white circle can, in a way—alternately nothing is inside it. (6)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2877

E	N	R	A	G	E	D	■	H	U	S	S	I	E	S
N	■	E	■	A	■	R	■	I	■	T	■	N	■	A
T	U	E	S	D	A	Y	■	C	H	A	T	T	E	L
E	■	Q	■	S	■	S	■	C	■	N	■	E	■	A
R	O	U	N	D	S	H	O	U	L	D	E	R	E	D
E	■	I	■	E	■	O	■	P	■	O	■	I	■	I
D	E	P	O	N	E	D	■	S	A	N	D	M	A	N
■	■	■	P	■	■	■	■	■	■	C	■	■	■	■
C	I	R	C	U	I	T	■	B	R	E	A	K	E	R
U	■	O	■	R	■	O	■	L	■	R	■	I	■	E
S	O	M	U	C	H	T	H	E	B	E	T	T	E	R
T	■	U	■	H	■	A	■	S	■	M	■	C	■	E
A	L	L	H	A	I	L	■	S	O	O	T	H	E	D
R	■	U	■	S	■	E	■	E	■	N	■	E	■	O
D	E	S	C	E	N	D	■	S	A	Y	I	N	G	S

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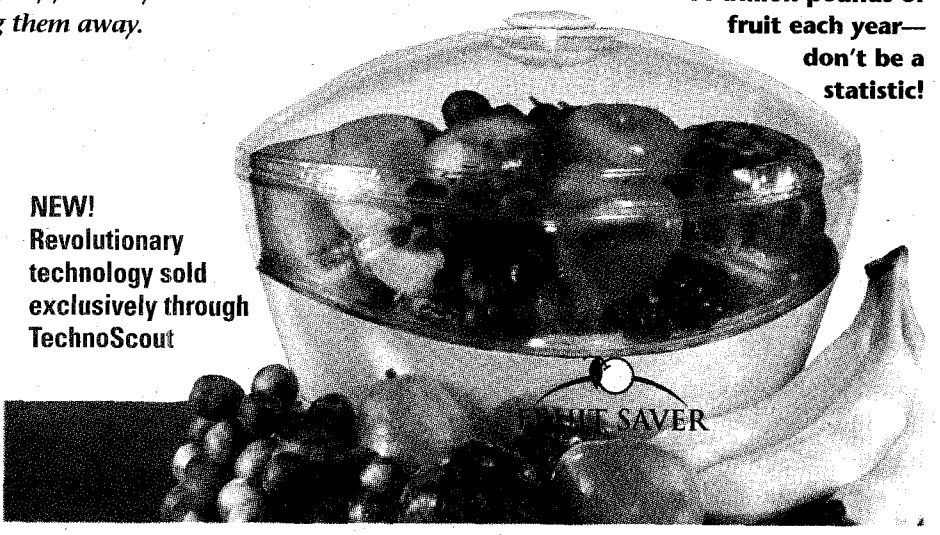
Fruit Saver™...the most innovative kitchen appliance since the microwave oven

The Fruit Saver™ is the solution for a common problem—featuring thermoelectric technology to extend the life of fruit so you can eat healthy foods instead of throwing them away.

Americans discard over 11 billion pounds of fruit each year—don't be a statistic!



NEW! Revolutionary technology sold exclusively through TechnoScout

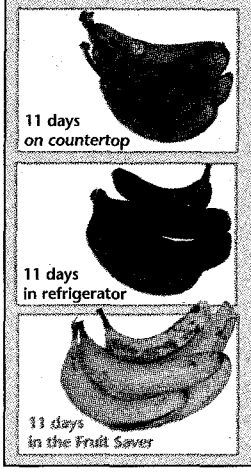
You know the drill. You buy a bunch of delicious, healthy, beautiful bananas at the store and put them on your kitchen countertop. A few days later, you end up throwing away half the bunch, because the bananas have turned black and mushy. Not only have you wasted the food, not to mention your hard-earned money, but now the only snack in the house is the candy your kid brought home from a birthday party. Now, thanks to scientific research into the process of fruit spoilage and ways to delay it, there is an easy and affordable way to help you put healthy food in your mouth, not in the trash.

Hot technology creates a cool new solution. Recently, the makers of Fruit Saver™ presented their engineers with a puzzling problem. Refrigeration and freezing can extend the life of many foods, from dairy and meat to vegetables and pasta. Unfortunately, this isn't the case for bananas and most other fruit. For the healthiest foods in the house, the fridge is too cold and the countertop is too warm. That's why a leader in the home appliance industry challenged its team to come up with a solution. The result is Fruit Saver™. It features patented technology designed to delay spoilage of fruit. The fan in the base of the bowl creates a controlled climate range of 52–58° F—the ideal temperature for preserving the life of fruit. According to information published by the University of California-Davis, the optimum temperature for the storage of bananas is 56–58° F. By keeping the fruit at this temperature, cooler than your countertop but warmer than your refrigerator, you can buy more fruit, eat more fruit and throw less fruit away. In fact, under normal household conditions, the Fruit Saver can double the life of fruit that's normally kept on the countertop.

Thermoelectric technology circulates cool fresh air over and around your produce

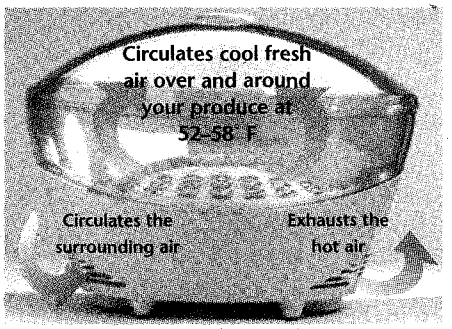
- Will extend the life of your produce
- The double wall insulated lid and chamber help to maintain the cool temperature
- Its clear lid and bowl allow you to see the Fruit Saver™ in action
- Viewing the beautiful ripe produce promotes this type of healthy snack
- Holds a great deal of produce in various combinations and sizes

COMPARE FRESHNESS WHEN USING THE FRUIT SAVER™



Under normal household conditions, the Fruit Saver™ can double the life of fruit that's normally kept on the countertop. You can buy more fruit, eat more fruit and throw less fruit away.

What makes the Fruit Saver™ the most innovative kitchen appliance since the microwave oven?



How it works. From the outside, Fruit Saver looks like an ordinary bowl—stylishly designed with clear sides and top. The secret to Fruit Saver lies inside. An electronic microchip is located in the bottom of the bowl, and the first fan circulates the cooled air throughout the unit. The second fan brings in ambient air from the room and exhausts hot air. The double wall insulated lid and chamber help to maintain the ideal temperature for fruit preservation. In the past, this type of cooling would have required a bulky, noisy compressor, but advances in thermoelectric technology have made this process effective and cost-efficient.

Experience it for yourself with our guaranteed home trial. Fruit Saver is an incredibly innovative kitchen solution, and only TechnoScout has it. Call us today and you can be among the first people to try this new technology. Now, for the first time, you can try it for yourself with our in-home trial guarantee. If you are not completely amazed by the way Fruit Saver helps you extend the life of fruit, simply return it within 30 days for a full refund of the purchase price less shipping and handling.

Fruit Saver™

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***Fruit Saver is just one of the hundreds of high-tech solutions to everyday problems that can be found at* TechnoScout.com.**

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